

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1882.

The Week.

THE President has vetoed the Anti-Chinese Bill for the somewhat obvious reasons which have been already set forth in these columns as fatal objections to it. The first is that it violates the treaty—if not in the letter, in the spirit. Twenty years' suspension of immigration, he holds, as every candid man must hold, amounts to prohibition; and he shows by copious citations from the protocol of the negotiations which preceded the treaty, that the Chinese Commissioners took a firm stand against prohibition, and understood, and were allowed to understand, that "suspension" or "limitation" meant simply prohibition for not more than five years, or for alternate years, so as to keep the number of Chinese in this country within the limits which the United States might think desirable in the interest of peace and good order. Twenty years' suspension would exclude a generation, and is, therefore, not "reasonable." The President's remarks on the proposed introduction of the odious passport system into the United States, at the moment when "it is fast disappearing in Europe before the progress of liberal institutions," in which he stigmatizes it as "undemocratic and hostile to the spirit of our institutions," will be read with deep satisfaction by everybody who thinks that the spirit of our institutions is the spirit of freedom. The passage of a bill containing such a provision ought to put a mark on every man who voted for it by which voters would recognize him, and give him his deserts, every time he offered himself for election.

No part of the President's argument is, however, more weighty than that in which he points out the enormous folly of which the Pacific Slope will be guilty if it quarrels with China or alienates the Chinese. The opening of the East to Western trade is the greatest fact in the more recent commercial history. There is a fair prospect that within a very few years the traffic both of Europe and America with Asia will reach dimensions as yet undreamed of; and China, both owing to its natural resources and the character of its population, is likely to be the best market in Asia; and, what is perhaps more to our purpose, the Chinese are likely to do the largest part of the business of exchange between the East and West. They have already, to a very large extent, taken the Chinese trade out of the hands of the English, who have so long held it, and they will undoubtedly largely control its current hereafter. No country is so favorably situated for a large share in this trade as our Pacific States; none has thus far profited more by it. To divert it to other channels now by treating the Chinese with hostility, and displaying against them the old barbarous spirit of seclusion which they are gradually throwing off, would be a

mistake of such magnitude that we can hardly believe the people of that region will, on sober second thought, be guilty of it.

The new Cabinet appointments still hang fire. Hitherto, President Arthur has made no changes in the Cabinet except upon the ground of resignations insisted upon by the retiring members. The changes in the Navy and Interior Departments now in contemplation are more in the nature of removals, and, as removals without "cause" except political are liable to be criticised, rumor speaks of cause for these. It is said that Secretary Hunt's health is becoming too precarious for the duties which the Navy Department imposes upon him. And as to Mr. Kirkwood, it is reported that "Congressmen and others" are constantly running to the President with the complaint that the present Secretary of the Interior is too old and slow, and that they "cannot get things done." We can only express the hope that President Arthur may be spared experience of a Secretary of the Interior of whom no complaint is made by "Congressmen and others" that they "cannot get things done"; for that would be a sure sign that things are done which ought not to be done, and that there is mischief in the department.

Mr. Hewitt's speech on the tariff unites the acquired knowledge of the business man with the logical faculty of the student, and cannot fail, therefore, to make an impression upon the public mind. After showing that a protective tariff has not the virtue sometimes claimed for it of shielding the country against commercial crises and hard times, Mr. Hewitt proves that what the country now needs is access to the markets of the world for manufactured products in order to tide over hard times when they come, and to guard against the deleterious effects upon our international trade of a partial failure of the crops at home, or a superabundance of the same products abroad. In other words, we want more than one string to our bow. We rely now almost wholly upon our own surplus food and other raw products to pay for our imports. In any case, when our supply of such products is limited by accidental causes, or the demand falls off, we have no resource. Our manufactures cannot fill the gap, because they are not offered at prices which the world is willing to pay. They cannot be produced here and sold in competition with English and German products of similar make, because of the taxes imposed on the raw materials and implements of manufacturing industry, in the shape of duties on ores, coal, wool, copper, scrap iron, chemicals, dye stuffs, machinery, etc., which enhance the cost of these indispensable articles that lie at the foundation of manufactures. Mr. Hewitt says strike these off, and when you have done so you can strike off a corresponding proportion of the duties now imposed on the manufactured articles, without doing any harm or injustice to them. This is plain to everybody.

Mr. Hewitt next shows that for this initial step a Tariff Commission is not necessary. Raw materials are as well known to Congressmen as to experts. They are as well known to-day as they can be next year—as well known to the Forty-seventh Congress as they can be to the Forty-eighth. Why not lop them off now, and then proceed in a business-like way to reduce the duties on the manufactured articles of which they are component parts? "From the examinations which I have made," says Mr. Hewitt, "the results of which only it is here possible to give, I am satisfied that in the cotton manufactures duties varying between twenty-five and thirty per cent. will be sufficient; in the woollen business from thirty to thirty-five per cent., in the iron and steel business from thirty-five to fifty per cent., in the pottery business about the same rates, and in the silk business about forty per cent., would cover the difference in labor, provided the duties are entirely removed from the raw materials used in these several branches of manufacture. Now, if it be conceded or can be demonstrated that these rates are sufficient in order to compensate for the difference in the wages of labor, we have simply to apply them in order to meet the demands of those who insist and concede that the tariff must afford adequate protection to American labor." He proceeds to argue that our present manufacturing capacity is, in many important branches, not only equal to the home demand, but in excess of it, leaving a surplus which must be sold at a loss if it cannot find foreign markets. But such a surplus cannot be long produced. Works now running in this condition must soon curtail their production and throw a portion of their operatives out of employment. Are there not signs of such disturbance now in the New England States, and is not this trouble likely to increase unless met by some policy which shall give us access to the markets of the world?

The indictment against General Curtis for collecting political assessments from Custom-house employees was quashed on Thursday in the United States Circuit Court, on the ground that the defendant's name is Newton M. and not Nehemiah M. Curtis. This is of course what every one in the least familiar with the procedure in criminal cases must have anticipated; curious as the mistake was, the result, when it had once been made, was unavoidable. It is now reported, however, that the District Attorney does not propose to trouble himself about the case further, unless a new complaint is made; a story which is hardly credible, for the simple reason that the failure of the prosecution was solely due to the negligence of the District Attorney or of subordinates for whom he is responsible. It was the District Attorney's business to find out the defendant's name, and while the public are undoubtedly willing to accept the explanation put forward, of the name "Nehemiah" having crept into the indictment through inadvertence, what they need to con-

vince them of it is that he should be immediately indicted over again; and any inaction on the District Attorney's part now must be regarded as tantamount to a confession that there is no real intention to make an example of General Curtis's flagrant violation of the law.

The statute under which the indictment was found was passed seven years ago, for the express purpose of breaking up the system of extortion, practised on clerks and employees, known as "political assessments." The language of the act, which is as much a part of the law of the land as the sections of the Revised Statutes which relate to bribery or petit larceny, is as follows: "That all executive officers or employees of the United States, not appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, are prohibited from *requesting*, giving to, or *receiving* from, any other officer or employee of the Government, any money or property, or other thing of value, for political purposes; and any such officer or employee who shall offend against the provisions of this section, shall be . . . deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars." For seven years no effort has been made to enforce this law, and therefore the announcement that the present Administration intended to enforce it in Curtis's case was received with a good deal of genuine surprise as well as pleasure. It was a sign of the willingness of the Administration to carry out the law as it stood. It is safe to say that with an Administration really determined to put its machinery to use for this purpose, no more political assessments would be collected in the Custom-house, at least by the class of tax-gatherers to which General Curtis belongs. After inaction for so long a period, to take up his case in order to make it a warning to others in similar positions, and then to let the whole proceeding go by the board because the Government's prosecuting officer made a mistake of a very unnecessary kind in drawing up the indictment, would not only place the District Attorney in a very false position, but would make it look as if the Administration, which set the prosecution in motion, desired General Curtis to escape, or, in other words, desired to make the whole proceeding wear the look of a farce, and to discredit, instead of advancing, the reform about which it has made so many promises.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee has received a letter from Minister Hurlbut, calling attention to one or two facts with regard to the Cochet claim, which he innocently says he "understands" to be the foundation of the "Peruvian Company." First, Alexander Cochet was a French citizen; second, the son, the claimant, was illegitimate; third, his rights, therefore, if any, descend to his French sisters; fourth, it follows that if there is any claim at all, it is a French claim, and the United States have nothing to do with it; fifth, the Cochet claim is a claim for discovering guano, while the law under which it is made relates to the discovery of

treasure belonging to suppressed convents; sixth, Cochet himself never made any claim; seventh, the claim was decided against Cochet in 1861 by a mixed commission, specially appointed for the purpose, and is therefore *res adjudicata*. This would seem to make the presentation of it by the United States very much like the suit for damages to the brass cannon borrowed for the Fourth of July—the facts in the case being that it never had been lent; that it was burst when borrowed; that it had been long since returned, and that it was returned uninjured. General Hurlbut's vigorous analysis of the merits of the Cochet claim is altogether his best state paper.

Mr. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is reported to have said that it is nonsense for Indian delegations to come to Washington, for the reason that "they don't know what they want when they start, and the longer they stay the less they know." We are inclined to think that Mr. Price has been misquoted. Indian delegations usually know very well what they want, although they do not always know what they get. But when such Indian delegations are well selected, and their movements are judiciously managed, their visits can be turned to good account in another respect. The observations they make while they are among us, and the impressions of civilized life, however crude, which they take home with them, have not only served to discourage the spirit of fight and mischief among them, but also stimulated their desire to have their children educated. In this respect the visits of Indian delegations to the schools at Hampton and Carlisle have proved especially useful.

Senator Hoar moved by way of amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill that \$2,000,000 be appropriated for the purpose of enabling the Secretary "to provide for the care, support, and education, in any of the States, of Indian children dwelling west of the Mississippi, and not belonging to the five Indian tribes in the Indian Territory, or so many thereof as may be practicable, under regulations approved by the President, at a cost not exceeding \$200 a year for each child." This may at first sight appear like an extravagant proposition, but it is not. It would be the most economical as well as the most humane thing that could be done. The success of the schools at Hampton, Carlisle, and Forest Grove in instructing Indian children, not only in the rudiments of knowledge, but also in practical work, clearly indicates that the enlargement of that educational system will be the surest way to make the Indians self-supporting; and we may rely upon it that no Indian tribe will take the war path while its children are in a Government school. A few millions spent in that direction now will save a great many millions in the future. The Senate has adopted at least the principle of Mr. Hoar's amendment, although it has very much reduced the amount of money he asked for, voting to appropriate only \$250,000. This sum is not as large as it ought to be, but it will suffice for the organization of three or four more Indian schools like those at Carlisle and Forest

Grove, and for the support of about 1,200 Indian pupils there for one year.

During the early part of the week foreign exchange ruled below the gold-exporting point, but late in the week rates were advanced so that Tuesday's steamer took out \$750,000 gold coin. The foreign-trade returns of the Custom-house show diminishing exports of merchandise and increasing imports. The difference has to be made up by the export either of securities or of gold, and while the former paid most of this difference for the week, if it was necessary to send the gold named. The money market passed the first of April without any stringency. The New York banks, in satisfying the demand from New England and the Middle States for money to facilitate April settlements, lost about half of their surplus reserve, but the remainder was more than they held at the corresponding time a year ago. The Treasury disbursements during April for interest and bonds redeemed amount to \$27,500,000, which, together with the natural turn of all the domestic exchanges in favor of New York, ought to make and keep the money market easy for the next few months, even if the gold exports are considerable. At the Stock Exchange United States 4 and 4½ per cent. bonds advanced to the highest prices ever paid for them—the former to 119½@120, and the latter to 115½@116. The week was full of surprises in the stock market, which for several weeks has been advancing and gave every promise of being buoyant after the opening of April. Instead of this there was a sudden break in the leading stocks which have been openly supported during the recent rise by W. H. Vanderbilt and Jay Gould. This break unsettled the whole stock market, the Gould stocks being features in the decline; and the week closed with a good deal of doubt as to the course in the early future of prices of the leading stocks.

Mr. Hayes, a stenographer in the House of Representatives, has been removed and Mr. Dawson has been appointed in his place. Hayes is a Democrat and Dawson is a Republican. If Speaker Keifer was induced to make the change by an ascertained inferiority of the Democratic short-hand method to the Republican, he does not make known the fact. Indeed, he does not show great eagerness to make known any facts whatever in the case. He says that the reporter was removed "for cause," but does not say what the cause was. It is said that Dawson was a good soldier, but it is not at the same time asserted that Hayes was a bad one, or that he omitted to bear arms at all. We are further told that the House stenographers are nearly all Democrats, and that Republican reporters ought to have a chance. This consideration would have more weight as a sign of an era of good feeling and a non-partisan civil service if, in some department where the clerks are all Republicans, half of them should be requested to withdraw in order to give the Democrats a chance. The one conspicuous thing upon which stress is laid is Hayes's membership of the Democratic party. That there is nothing else against him

may be assumed because he has served for fourteen years, although during the greater part of the time the House was Republican. The rules empower the Speaker to remove a stenographer "for cause." Mr. Stephens of Georgia has moved an investigation as to whether the rules were complied with in this case. The Judiciary Committee, to whom the motion was referred, should report it favorably, and if upon inquiry it appears that Hayes is a competent and faithful reporter, the Speaker should be instructed to restore him to his place. "Cause" can mean only a cause relating to the performance of official duty.

The question how to get a receivership of a life-insurance company started is being gradually unfolded by the legislative investigation; the mode of proceeding, after it is once started, so as to convey the assets to the pockets of receivers, lawyers, and hangers-on of Tammany Hall being already well advertised and understood. If a life-insurance company has really become insolvent, this fact will be known to its own officers first. They will then get somebody to act as plaintiff to bring suit against it. The plaintiff will allege insolvency, and the company will confess. The plaintiff will then move for the appointment of a receiver, and plaintiff and defendant together will agree upon Mr. A as a suitable person. The judge before whom the case is brought is not bound to appoint Mr. A merely because the parties have agreed upon him. He is bound to appoint somebody known to himself to be a fit person, since the receiver is really an officer of the court appointed to take charge of certain details, and to advise the court from time to time what ought to be done. But if the judge wishes to play into the hands of the so-called plaintiff and defendant, who are really acting together for a common purpose, he can appoint Mr. A and defend himself upon the ground that both parties to the suit were satisfied. After a time the process of distributing the assets may seem to the policy-holders too sluggish as judged by the amount which reaches them, and they may unite to demand the removal of the receiver. This is, perhaps, the very thing that the parties controlling the proceedings desire, as a change will make room for another fellow and his friends, who have not as yet had anything, but who ought to be taken care of. The receivership may now be considered fairly started, and it will be likely to run along until an investigation by the Legislature takes place, or until the Attorney-General moves to wind it up. In the latter case the judge may interfere, if there are any assets left, and send the case to a referee for further examination.

On Thursday Mr. Gladstone achieved a signal victory in the House of Commons. The resolution introduced by the Government so changing the rules of the House as to permit the closing of a debate by a majority vote, the so-called *clôture*, had not only met with bitter opposition on the part of the Conservatives and the Parnellites, but caused division in the Liberal ranks. Even many of those

who continued to follow Mr. Gladstone's lead in this matter were said to do so with great reluctance. The *London Times* and other newspapers lost no opportunity of encouraging defection among the Liberals. The first test vote was expected to show how large that defection was, and thereby to decide not only the fate of the measure, but the fate of the Gladstone Administration itself. This test vote has now been taken. It was on Mr. Marriott's amendment providing "that no resolution shall be satisfactory which enables a bare majority to close the debate." This amendment, which involved the fundamental principle of the Government measure, was rejected by a vote of 318 to 279. Both sides had made every possible effort to have their whole strength on the field. A majority of thirty-nine in a full House is not an overwhelming one. But considering that it was larger than had been anticipated; that it was taken upon the point most obnoxious to the dissenters in the Liberal party, and that therefore the Government may reasonably expect to be stronger on every other point of its policy than on this, the result may be looked upon as a decided triumph.

Mr. Gladstone has made a speech in the House of Commons in which he confesses the extreme difficulty of the situation in Ireland in view of the recent increase of appalling murders and outrages, and even Liberal papers like the *Daily News*, from which the policy of coercion has hitherto received only lukewarm support, are asking for still sterner measures. Mr. Gladstone says truly that no such state of things as now exists has been witnessed in Ireland within fifty years, and that the country is passing through a social rather than a political revolution. This is true, but in the fact that he cannot go further back than fifty years lies the difficulty of the crisis. Fifty years ago the Irish were behaving just as they are behaving now, and for precisely the same purpose—the production of certain changes in their social and political condition; and the worst of it was that in agitating through murder and arson they were agitating in the only way they had ever found successful. During these fifty years nothing or next to nothing has been done for radical reform in the land tenure, which all sagacious observers, home and foreign, official and non-official, have pronounced necessary. A remedy has now come in the Land Bill, but it is found to be only partial, for it does nothing for those who have fallen into arrears of rent through the two bad years which led to the enactment of the Land Bill, and does not prevent evictions for those arrears, and the evictions are being met, as they have always been met for two hundred years, by murder. In fact, murder has been allowed to do so much for the Irish peasant, as a social and political remedy, that it has apparently obtained a sort of horrible recognition from his conscience as a legitimate means of getting anything he wants, not from landlords only, but from anybody. The story of the Pennsylvania Molly Maguires is one which may well appall any statesman called upon to deal with the Irish problem, for it shows that readiness to assassinate has become a disease of the Irish

mind, and that probably no specific piece of legislation will cure it. It will take long years of new social and political influences and surroundings to cure it.

The reason why the Irish Coercion Bill just now does not work well with the Land Bill—that is, the reason the Land Bill does not make the Coercion Bill unnecessary—is only in part the continuance of evictions. It is also in part the profound belief of the peasantry that, but for the exertions of the men whom Mr. Forster has now under lock and key, the Land Bill would never have been passed. Whether this belief be well or ill founded, there is a great deal of warrant for it in Irish experience, and it would be against all the rules of Irish politics if the friends of the suspects failed to show their gratitude to them by every way in their reach, including, of course, intimidation. It now begins to dawn on the English mind that Mr. Forster is not the man for the situation, and that his brave speech from a hotel window in the west of Ireland the other day had by no means the sedative influence which the Liberal papers expected from it. He was treated with courtesy, but that clearly meant little, for his language was that of a master and a foreigner, and has apparently added fuel to the flames. The most probable results of the great increase of the complication will be the strengthening of the Tory movement in favor of Government aid to the establishment of peasant proprietorship on a large scale. This would of course indirectly include compensation to the landlords, as it would involve the purchase of their estates.

The assassination of General Strelnikoff at Odessa has made it evident that the Nihilists in Russia have not abandoned the "execution" of Government officers odious to them as part of their programme; and the prompt measures taken by the Government to have the assassins tried and hung, indicates that the mild and conciliatory policy with which the Russian Government was recently credited has had to yield to the strain of circumstances. The era of good feeling seems to be as far off as ever, and the state of nervous irritation into which the doings of the Nihilists have thrown the Russian Government may therefore be looked upon as no less strong a factor in the policy of that government than before. Apropos of this, a piece of news published by the *Berlin Germania*, the organ of the German Ultramontanes, is of special interest. It is that an agreement has been effected between the Russian Government and the Pope, securing to the Catholics in Russia freedom of worship. This spring the exiled Bishops are to be permitted to return to Russia, and their pastoral letters will no longer be subjected to a censorship. It is said that the Russian Government, in view of its diplomatic isolation in Europe, wants to be at least on the friendliest possible terms with the peoples subject to its rule, and that this agreement with the Pope is mainly intended to conciliate the Poles, whose good or bad humor would, as we point out on another page, be a matter of great importance to Russia in case of an international conflict.

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

DOMESTIC.

THE President sent a message to the Senate vetoing the Chinese Immigration Bill on Tuesday. He thinks the bill a violation of the Burlingame Treaty, and, therefore, a breach of national faith. He also thinks it contrary to good policy, and suggests that while the protection of American labor from Asiatic competition may justify a restrictive policy, it is wiser to make a shorter experiment, with a view to retaining only such features as experience may show to be prudent.

The President has approved the Act granting pensions to Mrs. Garfield, Mrs. Polk, and Mrs. Tyler.

The President sent to Congress on Thursday a letter addressed to him by the Secretary of the Interior, enclosing a communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, urging action on the part of Congress for the more adequate prevention of trespasses on Indian lands, and presenting the draft of a bill to attain this object.

The bill to admit the Territory of Dakota to the Union was reported back to the Senate Committee on Territories, owing to a protest against the admission sent to Congress by the bondholders of the Dakota Southern Railroad, based on the repudiation by the county of Yankton in that Territory of bonds issued by the county to aid in the construction of the railroad. The committee considered the matter on Friday, and came to the conclusion that the bondholders' grievance is one for the courts and not Congress to deal with, and reported the bill back to the Senate again by a strict party vote, the four Republican members of the committee voting in favor of the bill against the three Democratic members.

A bill has been introduced into the Senate to prohibit the importation of neat cattle from Canada. It provides that importation shall be prohibited until the President shall declare that the discrimination in this matter against the United States on the part of Canada has ceased.

The debate on the Tariff Commission Bill was continued in the House on Wednesday and Thursday, and on Friday the Army Appropriation Bill was considered in Committee of the Whole. On Monday the Ute and Crow Land Bills were passed under a suspension of the rules, and a motion to fix a day for discussing the Bank Charter Extension Bill was defeated, and a number of bills appropriating money for the erection of public buildings in various States were passed.

The House Committee on Improvement of the Mississippi River have decided that it will be more effective for committeemen to remain in Washington and look after appropriations for the overflowed districts than to proceed to the river for the purpose of examining and reporting as to the cause of the present flood. The waters in the Mississippi Valley are slowly subsiding, although at some points they have risen during the week. Reports of casualties of various kinds resulting from the flood continue to be received. Active relief work continues, Government rations being shipped to all points requiring them.

The House Committee on Commerce adopted a resolution on Thursday, "that it is the sense of this committee that some measure relating to inter-State commerce shall be adopted by this committee and reported to the House at the earliest practicable moment after the River and Harbor Bill shall have been reported to the House." It was then decided to lay aside the various inter-State commerce bills for the purpose of proceeding with the consideration of the bill named.

Meetings have been held and resolutions passed in various parts of the country protesting against the arrest and detention without trial in prison of American citizens in Ireland. The American citizens referred to are Irishmen naturalized in the United States,

who by their conduct in Ireland have made themselves amenable to arrest under the Coercion Act. Mr. Lowell, by refusing to interfere in these cases, has brought down upon himself the wrath of many influential bodies of citizens, including the New York Board of Aldermen, who passed resolutions denouncing him and demanding his recall. A mass-meeting was held at the Cooper Union in New York on Monday evening to protest against the course of the English Government in the matter. There were several speakers, and letters were read from a number of prominent men sympathizing with the objects of the meeting. The American Government, meantime, has procured the release of several of the "suspects."

Mr. Frelinghuysen received a despatch from Mr. Lowell, on Saturday, announcing that, in deference to President Arthur's request, a respite of a fortnight had been granted to Dr. Lamson. This, however, is to be construed merely as affording to the friends of the prisoner time to bring forward evidence bearing on the case, and does not imply that the sentence has been commuted.

Secretary Hunt has received two cable messages from Lieutenant Harber from Irkutsk. Difficulties have arisen in regard to the hiring of a steamer to search for the lost members of the *Jeannette* crew. Lieutenant Harber says that if he does not get one, he will start expeditions to search the coast from the mouth of the Yana to the Lena delta, and from the Olenek to the delta, and when the delta is clear of ice he will search it thoroughly in boats. He had received no news from Engineer Melville.

Secretary Hunt has telegraphed to Lieutenant Harber giving him authority to spend \$6,600 in getting a vessel to aid in the search for the lost members of the crew of the *Jeannette*.

Notice has been given that the Post-office Department will begin on April 10th the issue of a new postage-stamp of the denomination of five cents, and bearing a portrait of President Garfield.

Mr. Richard T. Merrick has been appointed counsel to assist Colonel Bliss in the prosecution of the Star-route cases, to take the place held by Mr. Brewster before his appointment to the Attorney-Generalship. On Friday the argument to quash the indictments was begun before Judge Wylie at Washington. Mr. R. G. Ingersoll opened for the defence. The basis of the argument is a lack of jurisdiction on the part of the Grand Jury which found the indictment, and certain technical defects and irregularities in the matter. The arguments were concluded on Saturday, and Judge Wylie reserved his decision.

Attorney-General Brewster's recent letter to Mr. Sanders, urging vigorous prosecution of the election frauds in South Carolina, has created considerable excitement in that State. "The effect has been to intensify the partisan feelings of the Democrats, and probably to render the conviction of any of the accused and guilty persons an impossibility. No Democratic juror will now dare to vote for conviction, no matter how clear and conclusive may be the evidence of guilt," says a prominent South Carolina Republican. The *Charleston News and Courier* says that the "people must begin at once, and teach the Stalwart conspirators that the State shall not be put in a position to be Africanized again. Let the accused election officers feel and see that the State is with them. Let every one of the accused understand unmistakably that his cause is the cause of civilization, order, and good government," etc.

The State Democratic Executive Committee of South Carolina has decided that it would be unwise to employ the law officers of the State in their official capacity to defend the election-law violators, but several of them will appear as special counsel, under instructions from the Executive Committee, Senator

Butler will also assist in the defence. An address was adopted calling upon the white men of the State to give the prosecuted Democrats their moral support, and to contribute liberally toward the expenses of the trials.

Judge Blatchford took the oath and entered upon the discharge of his duties as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court on Monday.

The bill of exceptions in the Guiteau case was signed on Thursday by Judge Cox. The exceptions taken are on the non-admission of certain evidence and the rulings of the Judge on points of law. It is the intention of District Attorney Corkhill to present the bill for a hearing on the first day of the next term, which will be April 24.

Information was received in New York on Monday of the death of S. A. Hurlbut, late United States Minister to Peru, on the 28th of March, of heart-disease.

Ex-Senator Sargent, the newly-appointed Minister to Berlin, was given a dinner on Thursday night, at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, by a large number of the prominent merchants and professional men of the city.

A meeting for the purpose of organizing a national board of lady managers of the Garfield Memorial Hospital Association was held in Washington, on Wednesday. Senator Windom presided. The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee stated that almost enough money had been raised to justify placing the hospital in active operation. The organization of the Ladies' Aid Society of the Garfield Memorial Hospital was effected, and Mrs. Windom was elected president.

All hands in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington, employed on internal-revenue stamps, have been furloughed because the appropriation for this purpose has been exhausted. This throws about 500 persons, mostly women, out of employment.

The Readjusters in Virginia were defeated in the State Senate on Thursday in one of their chief partisan measures—namely, the bill reducing the number of the judicial circuits of the State from eighteen to twelve, which would have turned out all the present circuit judges and made necessary the election of new ones.

A convention of colored men was held at Goldsborough, North Carolina, on Thursday, at which all the negro counties of the State were represented by delegates. Resolutions were adopted declaring that they "hailed with pleasure the unmistakable evidence of a liberal movement in North Carolina," and would "join hands with liberal men who may have heretofore acted with the Democratic party, and who are willing to bury the dead past in an earnest effort to build up the State and guarantee to all equal rights and privileges."

A sensation was created on Thursday in New Jersey by the disclosure of an attempt to bribe a member of the New Jersey Legislature to vote for a bill to secure the Jersey City and Hoboken water fronts to certain railroads. An Assemblyman named Shinn made an affidavit to the effect that he had been offered a thousand dollars to vote for the bill. An investigation was ordered, but no new facts of importance have been elicited.

The Mormon President Taylor, of Salt Lake City, and some of the apostles who had their polygamous wives living in one house with them, fearing arrest under a section of the Edmunds Bill which makes cohabitation with more than one woman a misdemeanor, have dispersed their harems. Taylor told his wives that if he could not have all of them, he would not have any of them.

The number of immigrants that arrived in New York during the month of March is larger than in the same month in any previous year. The total number of immigrants who arrived in this city during the past three months is 73,433, as against 47,847 for the first quarter of 1881, and 52,702 in 1880.

A great snow and wind storm visited the Northwest, from Southern Dakota to Manitoba, a week ago last Saturday, and the reports which have been slowly coming in show that many lives were lost and much damage done to property.

The steamboat *Golden City*, running between New Orleans and Cincinnati, was destroyed by fire on Thursday morning, just as preparations were being made to land at Memphis, Tenn. An ineffectual attempt was made to effect a landing and avert the catastrophe. About thirty of the hundred persons on board lost their lives.

Waiker Hall, at Amherst College, and its contents were destroyed by fire on Wednesday night. The total loss, including the valuable Shepard collection of minerals, which cannot be replaced, is estimated at \$185,000.

The monument erected at Tappan, on the Hudson River, in memory of the English spy, André, by Mr. Cyrus W. Field, which was recently defaced by a man named Hendrix, was again attacked on Thursday night. This time an attempt, which was partially successful, was made to blow it up. The guilty persons have not been found.

FOREIGN.

A vote was taken on Mr. Marriott's amendment to the *clôture*, in the House of Commons, on Thursday night. The proposed amendment, it will be remembered, declares that no rule should be considered satisfactory which would enable a bare majority to close a debate, and the vote was therefore looked upon as a test of the feeling of the House of Commons on the *clôture* question. The House was crowded in every part. Mr. John Bright made a speech, in which he said there could be no doubt that unless something was done to deliver the House from its difficulties it would stand before the country as having neglected its duty, and if the proposed resolution erred, it was in not being sufficiently severe. After speeches by Mr. Gladstone, Sir Stafford Northcote, and others, a division was taken, and the amendment was lost by a vote of 318 to 279.

It is stated that warrants are out against six Irish members of Parliament, and that consequently none of them will visit Ireland during the Parliamentary recess. Mr. Dillon has protested to the physician of the Royal Hospital at Kilmalsham against his further detention in the jail, as he feels much worse in health; but Mr. Forster, Chief Secretary for Ireland, declines to release him. Ourages, of which the latest variety consists in stabbing the lambs of rent-paying farmers, continue in Ireland.

There seems to be a general feeling in England that the condition of Ireland is getting more serious every day. A meeting of Liberal members of Parliament was held at the Reform Club on Monday, and it was decided to make strong representations to Mr. Gladstone in regard to the condition of Ireland. Several members expressed the opinion that a new Chief Secretary was required. In replying to Mr. Gorst in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, Mr. Gladstone said that the Government was sensible of the gravity of the condition of Ireland, but it must select its own time for proposing any desirable measures. It was a social, not a political revolution that was in progress. The Land League started when the Conservatives were in power, and there was a strong presumption that the influence of the League was behind the awful crimes which had been committed there. In conclusion, he described the present state of Ireland, and declared that it had no precedent for the past fifty years. Sir Stafford Northcote said that Mr. Gladstone's speech was disappointing, alarming, and unsatisfactory, because it showed vacillation. The House of Commons has adjourned for the Easter holidays.

The opponents of Mr. Bradlaugh are endeavoring to force him into bankruptcy so as to vacate his seat in the House of Commons, and to this end are bringing actions against

him on various grounds. In the Court of Queens Bench on Thursday, a judgment for £500 was obtained against him for voting illegally in his seat in Parliament.

A protest has been published in the *Nineteenth Century* against the Channel Tunnel, on the ground that it would involve England in military dangers and liabilities from which as an island she has hitherto been free. The article is signed by a number of the most prominent men in England, including Generals Sir J. Lintorn Simmons and Sir Henry Havelock Allan. In reply to a question in reference to the Channel Tunnel in the House of Commons on Thursday evening, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, president of the Board of Trade, said that the Government claim the bed of the sea for three miles below low-water mark, and hold themselves free to use any powers at their disposal, as Parliament may direct or the national interest may require.

Mr. Gladstone has stated, in regard to the Monetary Conference, that as the general views of the British Government were made known at the recent meeting of the Conference, it would be premature to enter into them more in detail until the Government is in possession of definite proposals from the foreign governments.

The Government has introduced a "Corrupt Practices" Bill, which will totally disfranchise Gloucester, Macclesfield, and Sandwich, and will suspend the writs for Boston, Canterbury, Chester, and Oxford during the existence of the present Parliament. The bill permanently disfranchises all inhabitants who are scheduled for bribery.

It is probable that the marriage of Prince Leopold will be postponed on account of his ill health. The preparations for the marriage have been suspended.

The Oxford and Cambridge University boat race was rowed on Saturday. Oxford won by twenty lengths, in twenty minutes and twelve seconds. The time of the Cambridge crew was twenty minutes and thirty-seven seconds.

A party of capitalists, farmers, and others sailed from London en route to Winnipeg, Manitoba, on Wednesday. Their total capital is estimated at £125,000. They will be followed every two weeks by other parties.

The British steamer *Yrurac Bat*, bound from Liverpool to Porto Rico, collided with the Royal Mail Company's steamer *Douro*, from Brazil, off Cape Finisterre, on Saturday. Both steamers sank, and thirty-two persons are missing from the *Douro* and nineteen from the *Yrurac Bat*. The *Douro* is said to have had on board £53,000 in specie.

There have been serious riots in Barcelona, and other towns in Spain, growing out of the opposition of the laboring classes to the proposed reform of the tariff. Most of the workshops and mills were closed, and the operatives paraded the streets and did much damage to property. In Barcelona a mob attempted to prevent a train from leaving the depot, and the military fired upon the crowd. A deputation of Catalan operatives were given a hearing before the Chamber of Deputies on Thursday. They represented that the adoption of the Franco-Spanish commercial treaty would deprive 100,000 workmen of their means of subsistence. Two hundred and fifty persons were arrested in Barcelona. The news of the demonstration caused a profound sensation in Madrid, and the province of Catalonia was proclaimed in a state of siege. In the Chamber of Deputies, on Saturday, Señor Sagasta, President of the Council, urged a calm discussion of the Franco-Spanish treaty of commerce, regardless of events in Barcelona. He eulogized the proposals of Señor Comacho, Minister of Finance, relative to the national debt, and said that Spain offered to her creditors all she could, and that she could not remain isolated from European movements. It is announced that the Sagasta cabinet has decided to resign if the financial proposals of Señor Comacho are rejected.

It is stated that Don Carlos has summoned his partisans to a meeting in London, to discuss the abdication of his claims to the throne of Spain in favor of his son.

The Committee on Commercial Treaties in the French Chamber of Deputies advocates a resumption of the negotiations for a treaty with England.

The committee on the bill proposing the abolition of the Concordat has refused to assent to the separation of Church and State. The Chambers have adjourned until May 2. On Saturday the Senate voted the credit of 8,000,000 francs for the Tunis expedition for the second half of the current year, which was agreed to in the Chamber of Deputies on March 28. M. de Freycinet stated that it had been necessary to maintain a force of 35,000 troops in Tunis, which number is being gradually reduced.

The Bey of Tunis has decided to offer to the leading insurgent chiefs, if they will submit, a full pardon, and it is thought they will accept the offer, as their hopes of Turkish aid are greatly diminished.

General Strelukoff, the Public Prosecutor of the Kieff Military Tribunal, was shot by Nihilists at Odessa on Friday. Two of the assassins were captured, and were hanged at Odessa on Tuesday, April 4. It is officially announced that the Czar has ordered the commutation of all the death sentences passed at the recent Nihilist trials at St. Petersburg to an indefinite period of hard labor in the mines, except in the case of a military officer whose sentence is confirmed, since his position as an officer aggravated his crime.

General Skobelev has been nominated to a commission for the reorganization of Turkestan. This appointment is said to be looked upon as a kind of honorable exile.

A despatch to the London *Times* says that General Ignatieff professes to have information that a treaty exists between Germany and Sweden, by the terms of which, in the event of a war between Russia and Germany, Sweden will lend her fleet to the latter, receiving Finland if the allies are victorious.

Debate was resumed on the Ecclesiastical bill in the Prussian Diet on Thursday, and, in accordance with a compromise between the Centre and Conservative parties, the provisions relative to the right to protest against ecclesiastical appointments, and concerning the obligation of the clergy to give notice of such appointments, were withdrawn, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs to several alterations in the bill, it was passed on Friday. The House then adjourned until April 18.

The anniversary of the Sicilian Vespers was celebrated at Palermo, Italy, on Friday. Many shops were closed, and the streets were crowded.

There has been trouble impending between Italy and the Republic of Uruguay, owing to the maltreatment of two Italians in Montevideo. The Italian representative, not being able to obtain satisfaction, left the city, and the Italian Minister at Buenos Ayres was instructed to proceed to Montevideo and inquire into the affair. A telegram was received by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs at Rome, on Friday, stating that the two principal offenders had been arrested and would be prosecuted.

It is reported that a conspiracy is on foot in Egypt to restore the ex-Khedive Ismail Pasha to the throne, and that Arabi Bey and Abdallah Feyer, the present Ministers of War and Public Instruction, and leaders of the Military Party, have been obliged to take precautions for their personal safety. An attempt was recently made to poison the latter.

Mr. Trescott, in a correspondence which has been published in Chili, has formally withdrawn any offer of the good offices of the United States in the conclusion of peace between Peru and Chili.

TUESDAY, April 4, 1882.

PERFORMANCE AND EVASION.

THE Civil-Service Committee of the Senate have reported to that body Mr. Pendleton's Civil-Service Reform Bill in the shape in which he originally introduced it in December. The bill provides for open competitive examinations for the subordinate places in the executive departments and the larger Government offices in the country, for a term of practical probation before definitive appointment, and for a Civil-Service Commission to supervise the workings of this system. If this bill becomes a law and is executed in good faith, the clerical force of the Government will be delivered from the control of partisanship; it will acquire the necessary degree of stability; appointment and promotion in it will depend exclusively upon merit, and a higher degree of efficiency and character will thus be insured. As far as it goes the bill is very satisfactory to every earnest friend of civil-service reform.

On the other hand, nothing can surpass the ingenuity displayed by the "practical politician" who wants to preserve the spoils and yet at the same time appear to be a friend of reform. How not to do it has been raised by him almost to the dignity of a science, and this science has recently received a very valuable contribution. On March 21st Mr. Dudley, the Commissioner of Pensions, addressed a letter to the Civil-Service Committee of the House of Representatives concerning the appointment of an additional force of clerks, in which he proposes to reform the service in this wise: A board of three persons is to be appointed to examine all applicants "eligible to appointment." The report of the board shall be made to the Secretary of the Interior. The Secretary shall appoint to the vacant places those persons who, in the judgment of the board or of two members thereof, are best fitted for the work of the office. But in making these appointments the Secretary shall (1) have "due regard to a fair and equitable apportionment of the whole force among the several States and Territories," not according to population, but in proportion to the number of Republican votes cast therein. He has (2) to confine himself to persons who have the right to vote somewhere, and are likely to exercise the right regularly, and, "other things being equal, or nearly so," to prefer Republicans. And (3) when it comes to the appointment of examiners of pension claims the Secretary has to consider that men to be fit for that sort of work must be of those who "have settled down to the real work of life; if possible, those who have fought for the nation's life, who are ripe in years and experience, of capacity and education sufficient to enable them to discover the legal points involved," and so on; which things, in the opinion of Mr. Dudley, cannot be found out by examinations. In other words, in such cases, comprising about two-thirds of the whole force, the Secretary will have to be guided very much by what he knows, or rather by what he is told by others, about the applicant's ripeness, experience, capacity, education, and general fitness for official position. Those who are appointed shall at first be commissioned for six months, at the expiration of which period only such shall

be recommissioned as are recommended for reappointment by the Commissioner, and then only for a term of three years, subject in the meantime to removal for cause upon the Commissioner's recommendation.

This is the scheme of the "practical politician," and, if accepted, the outcome of it will be exactly what the practical politician desires. Here is an examination provided for. What is the examination to determine? That the man who receives the best rating shall be appointed? Not at all. In order to be "eligible to appointment," the applicant must first be a Republican, and then he must "hail from" a State or Territory which, by the Republican vote cast therein, is "entitled" to an appointment. And then he must have the right to vote somewhere, and be in the habit of exercising that right regularly and steadily. But even if he meets these requirements of eligibility, his winning the first place in an examination will not entitle him to an appointment to a place in the examiners' force, comprising two-thirds of the whole, for the appointing power will, according to Mr. Dudley, have to apply standards which cannot be furnished by an examination. It is evidently upon outside testimony—that is, upon the recommendation of political patrons—that these appointments are to be made. It is reported that there are already over 2,000 names of applicants for these clerkships on file in the Interior Department, and it may be taken for granted that almost every one of the applicants has Congressmen and other politicians at his back to vouch for his "ripe age and experience," his "capacity and education," and all those things which, according to Mr. Dudley, no examination can find out. In other words, the examination is virtually nothing but a mere sham, a make-believe, adopted to invest this method of distributing patronage with the appearance of reform.

Another point. What the service needs, to educate a class of experienced and thoroughly efficient officers and employees, is a certain degree of stability. "Clean sweeps" and "new deals" with every change of Administration are therefore deprecated by every sensible man. But Mr. Dudley's system not only leaves the possibility of sudden and violent changes in the personnel of the service, it invites them, it renders them inevitable. "This is a Republican Administration," says he. Let the Democrats do likewise "when the pendulum swings the other way and the Administration passes into Democratic hands." But even in the meantime the service is not exempt from commotion, for the clerks are to be appointed only for terms of three years, at the end of which it may be necessary to consider new claims of Republican States and Territories as well as of persons. Altogether, Mr. Dudley's so-called reform plan is one of the most mischievous schemes we have yet seen, and it is to be hoped that some sincere friend of civil-service reform in Congress will unmask it there, if it should ever come up for serious consideration.

THE "FAIR-TRADE" AGITATION IN ENGLAND.

THE improvement in the English revenue receipts, and especially in the income tax,

which has risen nearly \$2,500,000 over the Ministerial estimates, is the best proof that could be given, if not of the restoration of prosperity, of very great improvement in trade. The tax-collector's returns were, however, hardly needed to establish this fact. That improvement had set in was made manifest months ago by the decline and, one may now say, the disappearance of the "fair-trade" agitation. Only a year ago this agitation was giving great comfort to the friends of high tariff in this country. It furnished the texts of hundreds of editorials in the protectionist press. It was pointed to as almost a demonstration of the failure of free trade. No figures were sufficient to make head against it. We might point as much as we pleased to the growth of British industry and commerce under the free-trade régime—the great fact remained, we were told, that a large and growing body of the British people confessed that though free trade might be a good thing if all the world adopted it, no one nation could work it successfully. How were we to get over this? Well, we have got over it simply by waiting a little. It now appears that it was not true that any considerable portion of the British public had come to the conclusion that free trade was a failure. Nor was it true, it now appears also, that the portion of the British public which did clamor for fair trade knew much about trade of any kind, free or fair. They were mostly either persons who were not engaged in or dependent on foreign trade at all, but were much troubled by the fall in the value of agricultural produce, or persons who had never mastered the free-trade theory.

Accordingly, when they were asked for a plan of putting their own theory into execution, the agitation collapsed almost in a month. As long as they had nothing to do but denounce free trade, all went well. The times were bad, and the demand for British goods in certain markets had fallen off, and it was easy enough to say that the reason was that England let people into her markets who would not let her into theirs. But as soon as they were asked what was to be done—supposing all this to be true—the bubble was pricked. The United States were the chief offender against British industry, and, of course, any system of retaliation that might be adopted would have to have the United States for its principal object. The minute the details of retaliation began to be arranged, however, the absurdity of retaliation became clear. Nearly everything the United States sent to England was raw material; that is, it was either food for the artisan, or something out of which he was to make the British exports. In neither case was it possible to put a duty on it without still further increasing the disadvantages under which British produce labored in foreign markets. On most manufactured articles in popular use there was no need of a duty, on any theory, because there was no foreign competition in them. Consequently the movement rapidly died out. The few Tory politicians who had committed or half committed themselves to it, ceased to talk about it. Now the second stage has been reached, and many who favored it, or even took part in it, have begun to

deny that they ever had anything to do with it. It will soon have gone the way of the Know-Nothing craze in this country, and the craze about the Southern Confederacy, and the Jingo craze in England. Probably we shall not again in our time hear anybody in England questioning the wisdom of the free-trade policy because it does not furnish the country with constant protection against commercial depression—as if protection did so, as if anything did so.

It begins, in fact, to be more and more clearly recognized in England by the best observers of industrial phenomena, that English industry runs no serious risk from the high tariffs of the great manufacturing nations, because every high tariff practically deprives the nation which maintains it of access for manufactured products to all markets except its own. If, therefore, Continental Europe and the United States should all devote themselves to the vigorous pursuit of a protectionist policy, it would result, as, in fact, it has resulted already, in giving the ocean carrying-trade and the markets of all the rest of the world to Great Britain. She can, indeed, well afford to surrender the Continent of Europe and the United States, if she is let alone in South America, in Africa, and in the greater part of Asia, with their vast and growing populations, which are gradually beginning to acquire the tastes and feel the wants of civilization. And let alone she will be, as long as Germany, France, and the United States are satisfied with keeping the home market for the domestic manufacturer. In fact, English financiers now begin to foresee that in the future the greatest danger to which "British free trade" will be exposed will be a cheapening of production in this country. If we should ever add to our prodigious abundance of food the advantage which would come from cheap raw materials and cheap everything that we did not ourselves care to manufacture, we should rapidly threaten English supremacy in nearly all the remote markets in which she now consoles herself for the barriers by which those nearer home are surrounded. Consequently the English watch our tariff discussions with far more interest than our diplomatic intriguing in South America. They have what our statesmen have not yet acquired—profound faith in the attractiveness of cheap goods; and, as long as they can offer them, care little what our Hurlbuts and Kilpatrick do to get their trade away from them by treaties or memorandums.

POLAND.

WHEN, eighteen years ago, the last Polish rising against Russia was stamped out, the cause of Poland seemed to be more irretrievably lost than ever. The youth of the kingdom established by the treaties of Vienna had bled away in a protracted struggle marked by despair and fury rather than by warlike heroism. There had been no battle of Grochów, no Ostrolenka, as in 1831; no Dembinski or Bem had arisen. Lithuania lay desolate, a prey to the relentless vindictiveness of Muraviev, who gloried in the surname of Hangman, bestowed upon him as a distinction by Russian patriotic frenzy. Alexander II., whose kindness and liberalism, yet unchilled and un-

checked by attempts on his life, had unfettered Polish sentiment and prompted a revival which led to insurrection for independence, was carried by his weakness and the clamor of Russian fanaticism to the extreme of tyranny in dealing with a people whose special aspirations had so rudely crossed those of his Empire, and had threatened to bring upon it the intervention of Austria, France, and England. The complete Russification of all his Polish provinces was now adopted as the guiding maxim of policy, and this was applied as remorselessly by the better class of his statesmen, such as Tcherkasski and Nicholas Milyutin in Warsaw, as it was by vulgar satraps like Potapoff in Wilna, who made the speaking of Polish in streets, hotels, coffee-houses, or stores, a crime punishable by heavy fines. The main part of the work was done by deportation, military conscription, confiscation, and similar measures. The Aksakoffs and Katkoffs of Moscow applauded, and goaded on the tools of Imperial vengeance. Western Europe, whose impotent protest had been scornfully defied by Gortchakoff, looked on in silent indignation; Prussia seemed to be glad of a dénouement which secured her a more quiet possession of Posen; Austria's absorbing care was to maintain her position as a great German power.

To maintain that position, Austria joined her rival, Prussia, in the war against Denmark, and two years later, in 1866, fought against Prussia on the fatal field of Sadowa. Crushed by one terrible blow, she renounced her leadership in Germany, sacrificed her last possession in Italy, and fell back for support upon those elements in her complex body which she had been wont to consider as the most dangerous—the Magyar and Polish. Hungary was restored in the fulness of her rights, and the national reorganization of Galicia completed. So there was no "finis Poloniae" yet. But was it not to come soon enough? Was not the colossal Russian power—rejuvenated by the emancipation of the serfs, victorious over her revolted Poles, and intoxicated with national pride—preparing to draw the sword for the unification of all the Slavs under her rule or leadership? Were not her Fadeyeffs and Tchernayeffs preaching a crusade of which Austria was to be the main, if not the first, object and victim? Was not Galicia, entirely open and unprotected on the Russian side, a ready prey for Panslavic invasion? Was not the Ruthene population of the eastern half of that country sufficiently prepared by secret agitation and intrigue for a revolt in favor of the invaders? Was Austria-Hungary able to stand the shock, keep Czechs, Croats, and other Slavic subjects in the bonds of loyalty, and repel the foe and his allies? The outlook, to be sure, was distressing enough for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and still more so for the last nationally organized remnant of Poland, Galicia.

But fortunately Russia's *recueillement* after the disastrous Crimean war, checked by the Polish insurrection of 1863, was not yet so complete as to allow of warlike adventures on a grand scale, and Alexander II. was peace-loving, and already intimidated by Karakozoff's and Berezowski's successive regicidal attempts. Before aggression, as urged by

Panslavic fanaticism, could be determined upon, Prussia had by her astounding victories over France risen to the height of a mighty empire, the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. Austria-Hungary, guided by Hungarian statesmanship, became Germany's ally, and thus safe from attack. Alexander II., who rejoiced in his uncle's, King William's, triumphs, was yet forced by the violent current of Slavophilism and the feverish restlessness of his people to draw the sword in its sacred cause, but turned it against Turkey. Germany, thankful for his friendly neutrality in 1870-'71, allowed him, in 1877-'8, to carry his armies across the Danube and the Balkan, and to gain small advantages for Russia, at a ruinous cost in men and money; but Gurke, Skobeleff, and Todleben had to return from before the unassaulted walls of Constantinople, and Ignatieff's treaty of San Stefano to be cancelled, at the dictation of Bismarck, backed by Andrassy and Beaconsfield. More than this, while Russia was robbed by the Congress of Berlin of a part of her well-earned honors and influence in the Balkan Peninsula, Austria-Hungary received from the same European Areopagus, as a reward for an equivocal attitude during the great contest, the permission to "occupy and administer" (that is, virtually to annex) two Turkish provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina—a task which was immediately executed. Russia was furious over this termination, which was charged to the pusillanimity of Alexander II.; and the national rage, equally divided between the Czar and the hated Teutons and Magyars, added venom to the shafts of Nihilism and fresh fuel to Panslavism. The double convulsive disease which has thrown Russia off the track of real progress, has advanced from stage to stage and from menace to menace, finally culminating in the assassination of Alexander II., and the chauvinistic pronouncements of the Moscow Slavophiles through General Skobeleff. Ignatieff, the chosen instrument of the Moscow Nationalists, rules the Empire, and Alexander III., whom fear of Nihilism has thrown into his arms, is drifting into war, as his father did, at the instigation of the same faction, and under the same guidance.

Scarcely had this tendency of the Russian mind and this bearing of the Russian situation become perfectly clear, when people on both sides of the border began seriously thinking of Poland—or rather of the Polish nation—as a possible factor of the first magnitude in deciding the great international controversy. The Poles began to hope for a new struggle for existence side by side with their old friends the Magyars; the more thoughtful Russians discovered that they had committed an error in cruelly alienating a branch of the Slavic stem still endowed with strength and vigor. The Austro-Hungarian press spoke loudly of the restoration of Poland as a necessity for the safety of the dual monarchy and the freedom of Europe; Bismarck's intentions in the matter became a subject of speculation. The *Golos* of St. Petersburg, on the occasion of the grand Polish celebration at Cracow, in 1879, in honor of the veteran writer Kraszewski, began a bold agitation in favor of reconciliation with the Poles, who had shown that they were still, and were determined to remain, a nation.

The voice of the *Golos* found an echo in other Russian journals; the Polish press of Posen, exasperated by fresh Germanizing efforts of the Prussian Government and its persecution of the leading Polish priests, did not spurn the proffered olive branch, but demanded positive proofs of sincerity, such as the restoration of the Polish language to its rights in the schools of Russian Poland, and the unmuzzling of the press of Warsaw. The latter remained silent; the press of Lemberg and Cracow, inspired by political and religious sympathy for Austria-Hungary, and exultant in its liberty, answered with disdain; Moscow mocked at the visionary dream of liberal St. Petersburg. The Russian Government hesitated with the first tentative indication of a conciliatory design till the beginning of this year—when the Russianized University of Warsaw received the gift of a Polish professorship. The Russian endeavors to win over the Poles to the Slavic side in the "long and terrible" grapple of the Slavs with the Teutons, which Skobelev and his friends announce as unavoidable and imminent, have, however, been continued to this day, and they are watched with intense interest.

If this terrible struggle between the two races be really unavoidable, the prediction may be hazarded, though not without the necessary reservations, that that race will be victorious on whose side the Poles shall stand. This prediction is not founded on the value of the Polish sword, however high that may be estimated by those who remember 1831, but on the consideration of numbers, geographical position, and politico-religious circumstances. Making rough estimates, and deducting the Poles subject to all the three Emperors, the population of Russia is about equal to those of Austria-Hungary and Germany combined. The military forces of these allies are vastly superior in quality to those of the Czar, but this superiority would, in a long war, be counterbalanced by the advantages which the leader in the Pan-Slavic crusade would derive from the aid of nearly 15,000,000 of non-Polish Slavs of Austria-Hungary (Slovaks, Czechs, Croats, Serbs, Dalmatians, etc.), as well as of 3,000,000 Ruman subjects of that monarchy, men of the Greek faith—if he could only reach and revolutionize them. Count the Poles among the combatants of the allies, and you not only add 12,000,000 to the material they can draw upon, but Galicia remains a shield of Austria-Hungary, the example of the Poles strengthens the fidelity of the Catholic Slavs of that monarchy (Slovaks, Czechs, and Croats), the Slavic phalanx cannot be formed, the struggle assumes the aspect of a fight for and against the Greek cross, and the war is carried on between the Vistula, the Dniepr, and the Duna, where Russia is most vulnerable. Add the 12,000,000 Poles to the military resources of Russia, and you also open to her the road across the Carpathians, the Magyars become immediately crippled by risings of Ruthenes, Serbs, and Ruman—such as ruined the cause of Hungary in 1849—Slovaks and Czechs follow the Polish lead in preferring the claims of race to those of religion, and the monarchy of the Hapsburgs collapses after a terrible agony. All this can, of course, be pre-

sumed only on the suppositions that Russia, with her wonted stubbornness and fanaticism, will not break down under the first heavy blows which the conquerors at Sadowa and Sedan might deal her; that, on the other hand, France will be deterred from mingling in the fray by Metz, Strassburg, Coblenz, etc., and the attitude of Italy; and that the forces of the Sultan will keep in check the lately emancipated Christian states of the Balkan Peninsula—but all these suppositions seem to be well grounded.

Both the Russian and German Governments still hesitate to make overtures to the Poles; both continue to treat their respective portions of Poland as hostile territories, to be kept down by the iron hand; and the Poles of each portion hate their own masters most cordially. Religious antagonism sharpens in each the hatred bred by oppression and the remembrance of old feuds; what Russia gains in comparison by race kinship she forfeits by her tyranny. Posen may hesitate in its choice, if choose it must, between the Slavic banner and the Teutonic, seeing no prospect of independence in the victory of either; but Russian Poland, groaning under a galling yoke, will readily join even German invaders, unless convinced that they mean to extend their Prussian border, as such, to or beyond the middle Vistula, or allured by timely Russian assurances of vital concessions; and as long as Russian Poland does not unequivocally declare for the Pan-Slavic cause, which she would do only after a revolution in Russia, or at least in the Russian policy, the Poles of Galicia will stand firmly by Austria-Hungary, defending to the last the cause of their nationality and church against the deadliest foe of both, the Russian power. Galicia considers herself now the nucleus of a future independent Poland, and as such she is kept in provisional allegiance to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and its Hapsburg dynasty. The dynasty, the Hungarians, and the German-Austrians will have no hesitation in letting that province go free, to become, with other parts of Poland, a rampart against Russia, the weak objective point of whose constantly menaced attack it is now. The opposition of the Czechs and other Slavs of the monarchy to such a diminution of its Slavic strength will easily be overcome. Let Bismarck speak out the word "restoration of Poland," and all the land, from the Carpathians to the Baltic, will be ablaze, and the real Eastern question virtually decided by the Polish nation breaking the Pan-Slavic phalanx, instead of joining it.

That Bismarck, while doing his best to keep Posen firmly attached to Prussia, and dealing roughly—perhaps ostentatiously so—with his Polish opponents in the German Reichstag and Prussian Diet, may yet harbor the thought of one day playing out that word as a great trump, perhaps his greatest, in European politics, has long been suspected. His Boswell, Moritz Busch, has divulged the fact that he once seriously advised the Crown-Prince of Prussia to have his sons taught Polish, as a thing that might be useful in the future. Could Bismarck have thought of an independent Poland under a Prussian secundogeniture? An independent Poland under an

Austrian secundogeniture has been the desire of the Polish high nobility since 1831, when negotiations were entered into with Metternich with a view to placing the Archduke Charles upon the throne of Poland. But of late the report has gained currency in wide circles that Bismarck meditates the creation of a Polish throne for the Saxon dynasty in exchange for Saxony, which would be annexed to Prussia. Two Electors of Saxony reigned in Poland, as kings, from 1697 to 1763, and a King of Saxony was Duke of Warsaw from 1807 to 1813. The Saxon dynasty has remained Catholic since Augustus the Strong adopted that faith, in order to gain the Polish crown, in 1697. Protestant Saxony would hardly object to the change of rulers, and this change would be a great step in the unification of Germany directly under the Hohenzollern sceptre. Poland remembers its Saxon monarchs with a kind of charitable complacency. The scheme is very rational—and perhaps not merely *bene trovato*.

OUR PRODUCTION OF THE PRECIOUS METALS.

THE preliminary report on the production of precious metals, by Mr. Clarence King, has just been issued by the Census Bureau. The statistics, which relate to the year ending May 31, 1890, have been to a certain extent forestalled and supplemented by the estimates of the Mint Bureau, and by those of Mr. Valentine, Superintendent of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s express, although these do not relate to the same period as the statistics of the census. In his preliminary notes, Mr. King describes the methods employed for the collection of the statistics, presenting not only those used by himself, but also those used by the Mint Bureau and by Wells, Fargo & Co. The method employed by the Mint is simply that of summarizing the receipts of domestic bullion at the several mints and United States assay offices, adding to this the amount shipped abroad, as shown by custom-house returns, and estimating the amount consumed in the arts. The objections to this method are that the amount coined within a certain period does not necessarily correspond to the production for that period. The estimates of the amount consumed in the arts are necessarily somewhat vague; and, moreover, the record of imports and exports cannot be accurate or complete, inasmuch as no account is taken of bullion transported overland into Canada, and the export figures for base bullion, ores, and matte cannot be depended upon. The method employed by Mr. Valentine consists in estimating the product from the statistics of the express companies and of the freight lines and banks which handle it. This plan would give satisfactory results if all the products of the mines were handled by these companies; but such is not the case, and estimates of the amount which passes into the market through private channels must necessarily be based upon very slight information, and be correspondingly liable to error.

The third system, which is the one that has been adopted, as far as possible, by the census, is what may be known as the direct method. Carried out fully, it would consist in obtaining directly from each bullion-producer a statement of the amount produced. In the case of the larger mines and smelting works, by which much the greater proportion of the precious metals is produced, this plan has been carried out with success. It has been found impossible, however, to use it in the case of the smaller

producers, and therefore recourse was had to other methods. Mr. King found the following obstacles to the full application of his system: the wide extent of the field; the vast number of mines, a large proportion of which are in localities difficult of access; the reluctance of some mine-owners and superintendents to give accounts of their product, coupled with the fact that in a great many cases no systematic accounts were kept by the mine-owners, especially the smaller ones. Many mines had changed hands during the year, and others which had been worked a part of the year were shut down at the time the investigation was in progress. The fact that the census year does not correspond with the fiscal year also made it difficult for not a few of the corporations to give the required figures.

The following table summarizes the figures of Mr. King's report so far as they relate to the total production in the United States. The production is given in dollars:

	Deep Mines.	Placer Mines.	All Mines.	
			Gold.	Silver.
Alabama.....	1,301	.....	1,301	.... 51
Alaska.....	.....	6,002	5,951	.....
Arizona.....	2,507,534	30,258	211,905	2,325,825
California.....	9,652,575	8,649,253	17,150,941	1,160,887
Colorado.....	19,146,006	103,106	2,606,898	16,549,274
Dakota.....	3,325,547	51,109	3,305,843	70,813
Georgia.....	14,168	67,195	81,029	332
Idaho.....	1,049,519	894,684	1,478,653	464,550
Maine.....	10,190	.....	2,999	7,200
Michigan.....	25,858	.....	.....	25,858
Montana.....	3,539,730	1,171,105	1,805,787	2,905,068
Nevada.....	17,208,482	50,427	4,888,242	12,430,667
New Hampshire.....	26,969	.....	10,960	16,000
New Mexico.....	441,691	.....	49,354	392,337
North Carolina.....	114,367	4,728	118,953	140
Oregon.....	190,972	934,523	1,097,701	27,793
South Carolina.....	6,499	6,597	13,040	56
Tennessee.....	1,998	.....	1,998	.....
Utah.....	5,014,503	20,171	291,587	4,743,087
Virginia.....	9,321	.....	9,321	.....
Washington.....	16,800	120,019	135,800	1,019
Wyoming.....	17,321	.....	17,321	.....
Total.....	\$62,381,448	12,109,173	33,379,663	\$41,110,957

In the production of gold California still takes the lead. The great deposits of auriferous gravel continue to yield largely, though their final exhaustion, under the wholesale hydraulic operations now being actively prosecuted, cannot be far away. Prior to the discovery of the Bodie district, these and the other superficial deposits supplied more than two-thirds of the entire gold product of the State; but the Bodie and the other deep mines now make the product of the two classes of mines about equal. California produces comparatively little silver, and that from two adjoining counties, Inyo and Mono. In this State there is a larger number of actively-worked mines than in any other, owing chiefly to the settled conditions, the facilities for transportation, and the cheapness of labor and supplies. On this account it is possible to work mines of a lower grade of ore than in most of the other States and Territories. The State furnishes 71.47 per cent., or nearly three-fourths, of the total placer product of the country; and 40 per cent. of the total gold product of the deep mines, or between 51 and 52 per cent. of the total gold product of the United States. Its yield of silver is but 2.8 per cent. of the whole. The interests of the State, however, are not centered in its mining industry, as of late years agriculture and manufactures have assumed greater relative importance.

The mining industry of Nevada shows a considerable decrease, in consequence of the diminished yield of the Comstock lode. From 1871 to 1879 Nevada stood at the head of the States and Territories as a producer of the precious metals, but during the census year both California and Colorado outstripped it. In 1876, the Comstock yielded a total of \$38,572,984; but during the census year the product of the whole

Comstock district was but \$6,922,330—a decline of \$31,650,654, or more than 82 per cent., in four years. The placer mines of this State are insignificant, no gravel deposits of importance having a suitable water supply being known. Their aggregate yield is estimated to be but little more than fifty thousand dollars.

The bullion product of Utah is remarkably steady, varying but little from one year to another. The principal yield comes from a few rich claims which are largely in the hands of corporations, and the bulk of the ore is treated by a limited number of mills and smelting-works. The placer yield of the Territory is inferior even to that of Nevada, being estimated at about twenty thousand dollars.

The mining industry of Arizona was but slightly developed at the time of the census investigation. Since that date the development has been very great, a number of mines having become heavy producers. Owing in great measure to the unsettled condition of the mining industry, which at that time was mostly in the prospecting stage, the statistics cannot be regarded as possessing a high degree of accuracy; indeed, Mr. King states that they contain a probable error of at least 20 per cent. The principal production has been from the mines in Pima County, and consists largely of silver.

Although Idaho has produced precious metals during the last twenty years, its mineral resources have still been but slightly developed. During the past four years its production has been confined almost entirely to the older mining districts, of which the placer mines of the Boise basin have contributed a large proportion. The Owyhee mines, whose production was formerly very considerable, suspended operations in 1876, as a result of the financial crash in San Francisco. Since the close of the census year the Wood River and other districts in and about the Salmon River mountains have been discovered, and now promise large returns of the precious metals. Of the total gold product, about 60 per cent. is from placer and 40 from deep mines. The Territory furnishes 7.33 per cent. of the total placer product of the country, 2.81 per cent. of the deep-mine gold, and 4.43 per cent. of the total gold production. Of the silver production it yielded 1.13 per cent., and 2.61 per cent. of the entire product of the precious metals in the country.

Although Oregon is one of the oldest of the Western mining States, its output has never been large, and mining has always been secondary to agriculture. The greater part of its production is from Baker County, in the eastern portion of the State. The prevailing type of the ores is a free gold quartz. Of the total production of the country, its yield is 7.71 per cent.

The precious-metal production of Washington Territory is of little importance, four-fifths of it being from placers, one-half of which comes from the Upper Columbia. The Skagit mines, which recently caused much excitement, have not as yet proved to be productive. The deep mines of the Territory are practically confined to the Peshastion district in Yakima County, where gold-quartz mining is conducted on a small scale.

Recent reports from Alaska of the discovery of very extensive and rich silver deposits have drawn thither large numbers of persons, but thus far only to be disappointed. The sole returns from the Territory up to the close of the census year consisted of a small amount of placer gold.

Colorado, which up to 1877 produced annually an average of three or four millions, has suddenly, with the discovery of the silver deposits at Leadville, come to the front, ranking first for its silver output and fourth for its gold. During

the census year its production of gold and silver was, in round numbers, nineteen and a quarter millions, and, adding to this the value of lead and copper produced, the total metallic product was twenty-two and three-quarters millions. A full collection of statistics in this State was in the highest degree difficult to obtain on account of the unsettled condition of the industry, the immense number of mining claims held by private parties, and the sporadic character of the work being done upon them. Moreover, a large proportion of the ore was shipped east directly, or in the form of lead bullion. The character of the ores and of the mineral deposits presents the greatest possible variety, defying all known modes of classification. Lake County, in which are situated the Leadville deposits, is, of course, by far the heaviest producer, contributing more than two-thirds of the entire product of the State. Gilpin and Clear Creek, each producing nearly two millions of dollars, follow next in order. The mines of these counties were among those first worked. The placer mines of the State, which, shortly after the discovery of mineral deposits, produced very heavily, now furnish only about one hundred thousand dollars to the total production.

The mineral deposits of Dakota are confined to the region of the Black Hills, and the productive mines are almost entirely deep mines of free-milling gold quartz, of a very low grade. The average assay value of these ores is only about eight dollars per ton, but many of the mines, by reason of the great abundance of the ore and the cheapness of its extraction, are extremely profitable. The production of the placer mines is surprisingly small, being only about fifty thousand dollars.

Montana possesses all the elements favorable for a large production—namely, rich and varied ores and abundant fuel, both coal and wood; as yet, however, it has not taken a high rank, because of the want of development and transportation. The discoveries of the rich deposits at Butte will undoubtedly raise the production very considerably in the immediate future, and the opening up of the Territory by the railroads which are now being constructed within it will probably bring to light other equally promising fields. During the census year the principal production came from Deer Lodge County, in which ore having an assay value of more than four millions was raised during the census year. The placer deposits of the Territory formed an important source of its production during the census year, being estimated by the Mint Bureau at more than a million dollars, or nearly one-fourth of the total production of the Territory.

During the census year the mines of New Mexico attracted much attention, but their development has to a certain extent awaited the completion of the railroads through the Territory. Indian difficulties, too, have been another cause of delay, the miners having been repeatedly driven out of a number of the richest districts. Large extents of placer grounds known to be extremely rich have thus far been allowed to lie idle, on account of the difficulty, indeed in most cases, the impossibility, of obtaining water. During the census year there is no report of any production from the placer grounds of the Territory.

Wyoming, although surrounded on three sides by important mining regions, has thus far developed very little in the way of mineral deposits. The only ones known at present are those at the east base of the Wind River Mountains, in Sweetwater County, which produced during the census year but little more than seventeen thousand dollars.

In concluding his report, Mr. King remarks

that the outlook for the future of the mining industry in precious metals is very promising. This view seems to be sustained by the reports of production during the calendar year just passed, for which Mr. Valentine reports a total production of \$76,947,515, in the proportion of \$31,869,656 gold and \$45,077,859 silver.

PERSONAL GOVERNMENT AND ENGLISH DEMOCRACY.

LONDON, March 14, 1882.

WHOEVER has been accustomed to reflect on the course of public affairs must have noted the great effect produced from time to time on opinion by current terms, phrases, or catchwords. Of formulas such as the "sovereignty of the people," the "rights of man," "liberty, equality, and fraternity," the claims of "nationality," which have in their day shaken the civilized world, there is no need to say anything. I can better illustrate my meaning by referring to minor phrases or maxims which within my own memory have assuredly exercised no small weight on the sentiment and the judgment, and therefore on the action, of Englishmen. Thus the need of having "the right man in the right place," the danger of "the tyranny of majorities," the "duties of property," the wisdom of substituting "lateral" for "vertical" extension of the suffrage, the "representation of minorities," the inexpediency of "concurrent endowment," or the expediency of "levelling up" instead of "levelling down," with a score more of expressions or sayings, have within the last thirty years counted for a good deal in the making up of that public opinion which is, or is supposed to be, the ultimate authority in English politics. All these expressions and others like them are vague, indefinite, and from their very nature inaccurate. But it is from their vagueness and from their pliability that they derive their force. They represent not the thoughts but the sentiment of the hour: they betray the general tone of feeling prevalent among large classes. It is therefore always worth while to examine with care and impartiality what is the idea or feeling which the catchword of the time contains, and to ascertain what may be its amount of truth or falsehood.

One of the notions which, as far as I can judge, has at the present moment most currency among the well-to-do and, therefore, roughly speaking, the conservative classes of English society, is the danger of "personal government." The circumstances which have given rise to this sentiment are obvious. It takes no acuteness to see that admiration for individuals has been the special weakness of the French democracy. It is, again, clear that under the rule of Lord Beaconsfield, no less than of Mr. Gladstone, the individual peculiarities of the Prime Minister have exerted great influence on the course of English politics. It is therefore easy to conclude that modern democracies tend to create systems of "personal government," and further to infer that this tendency is purely evil and must be denounced as a rock ahead. Nor is it possible to overlook the fact that to the preachers who warn us against the dangers of personal government, their text, as is often the case in a sermon, is of far less interest than its practical application. Writers who honestly enough dread what I take it you would call the "one-man power," are much less concerned to establish any speculative doctrine than to enforce the practical conclusion that the influence of "one man," namely, Mr. Gladstone, "has," if I may borrow a formula from the politics of the last century, "increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Here, in fact, we are brought face to

face with the worst intellectual result produced on Englishmen by public life—the ineradicable habit of enlisting general principles, or so-called general principles, into the service of party warfare. This vice deprives the speculations even of Burke of half their permanent value, and writers who have not a tithe of Burke's genius to sacrifice, are quite as ready as he was to give up to party thoughts and theories which were meant for mankind. It is indeed odd enough to observe how readily the very class of writers who when the American democracy was in trouble turned against republican government all the paradoxes and half truths of Carlyle, now arm themselves against the democracy of England with the maxims of De Tocqueville, and apply or misapply warnings needed by France during the whole period of De Tocqueville's public life to the totally different circumstances of modern England! While, however, it were folly to disguise from one's self that theoretical fear of individual despotism is often, in writers who give the cue to public feeling, a mere cloak of very actual dislike to Mr. Gladstone, it would be a great mistake for one who like myself is neither a vehement opponent nor an indiscriminating admirer of that Minister, to overlook the fact that the language current about personal government does express a genuine and prevalent idea. My object is therefore to estimate, as fairly as I can, the real relation of personal government and English democracy.

"Personal government" is, as I have before pointed out in your pages, an ambiguous term. When it is used with any strictness, it is nothing more than a synonym for our old friend tyranny or despotism. It is a term strictly applicable to the rule of men such as Cæsar, Cromwell, or the two Napoleons. It may be applied with some laxity, but without essential incorrectness, to the kind of administration which George III. attempted to establish during the earlier part of his reign, and did actually establish during the Ministry of Lord North. The essential feature of genuine personal government is that a ruler who cannot be removed, and who cannot be made responsible for his acts, has predominant power in the state. He may be competent or incompetent. He may or may not be the representative of genuine popular conviction. He may owe his power to armed force, to an original popular vote, or to his hereditary position. But whatever the other characteristics of his rule, the despot who maintains a system of personal government is beyond the reach of regular legal control. Any one who believes that the errors of freedom are in the long run a less evil than even the wisdom of despotism—and this is the fundamental dogma of all genuine Liberals both in England and in the United States—must at once admit that "personal government," as contrasted with the government of the nation by the nation, is an undoubted evil; and that modern democracy, in so far as it promotes personal government, promotes a state of things hostile to all true and permanent progress. But I may almost venture to assume that there is no Tory or Home Ruler insane enough to dream that Mr. Gladstone will play the part of Cromwell or of Napoleon. I say that I "almost" venture on this assumption, because in a periodical purporting to be specially addressed to educated men I saw last night the statement deliberately put forward that Mr. Gladstone, both in character and in policy, bears the closest resemblance to James I.; and the man who can trace a likeness between the present Premier and the most learned fool in Christendom may, for aught I know, believe that Mr. Gladstone meditates an armed *coup d'état*. But, putting aside the dreams of fanatics the violence of whose hatred has deprived them of sane judgment, it may be safely

assumed that no one supposes that England stands in danger of a Gladstonian despotism. Those who apply the expression personal government to any form of administration which has, or does, or can exist in modern England, use the word in a secondary and almost metaphorical sense.

For "personal government" means, in the mouths of those who connect it with the tendencies of English democracy, not despotism, but the condition of things under which the will of one man, in virtue of the confidence reposed in him by the nation, exerts great or predominant influence on the course of politics. There is not, it must be granted, the remotest doubt that personal government has in this sense, from time to time, existed in England. Chatham, Pitt, Lord Palmerston, Lord Beaconsfield were each, during part of their career, able from their position and character to impress their own personal will, ideas, or fancies on the whole policy and legislation of Great Britain. Whoever will be at the pains to read any of the memoirs which have thrown such abundant light on the reign of George III. will easily come to the conclusion that personal government, be it a bane or a blessing, is no novelty. The language, for example, used by rivals no less than by followers about Pitt, implies that at one time he was not so much the leader as the master of his colleagues. The way in which his influence and importance are spoken of would assuredly be denounced as servile adulation if employed by any of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet with regard to the authority of their head. I am not, however, the least concerned to deny that Mr. Gladstone's individuality does exert predominant influence in the Cabinet and throughout the Liberal party. It is quite true, and this truth is a most serious and important truth, that England is at this moment to a great extent governed in accordance with the ideas of one man. It must further, I think, be conceded that whenever this kind of personal government exists, the direct power of the House of Commons is lessened. If Mr. Gladstone is bent on a course of action which, as in the case of his perfectly just determination to introduce the *clôture*, is disapproved of by many of his party, it is pretty certain that as things now stand it is not the Premier who will have to give way. Members elected to follow Mr. Gladstone are compelled to play the part of followers. They feel, consciously or unconsciously, that if it came to a conflict between the Prime Minister and a body of Liberal seceders, the constituencies would probably support Mr. Gladstone. I must further in candor grant, that in my judgment the English democracy will, in the long run, tend to produce a system of personal government in the only sense in which that term can be applied to an English cabinet. I come to this conclusion partly from observing the course of politics since 1868. Whether Lord Beaconsfield or Mr. Gladstone has been in power, one thing has remained unchanged: the Premier for the time being has overshadowed both his colleagues and his party. The elections of 1874 and the elections of 1880 were as distinctly contests between Mr. Gladstone and his rival, as if each of them had stood as candidate for the Premiership. But my belief that English electors will, on the whole, wish to place wide powers in the hands of the leading statesman in whom for the time being they have confidence, rests less on the experience of what, after all, is a very short period, than on the general character both of Englishmen and of democracies. An ordinary elector feels—and, I think, rightly feels—that he can form a far sounder judgment on the character and the general tendencies of a leader than on the details of intricate political questions. An intelligent person, who has read the papers and

has observed Mr. Gladstone's career, may say to himself with much more confidence, "I am willing" or "I am not willing," as the case may be, "to trust Mr. Gladstone's conduct of public affairs," than "I have a distinct opinion as to the right policy to be pursued in Ireland or in Egypt." Add to this that a person undoubtedly is more interesting to masses of men than a principle. When Mr. Gladstone "stumped" Midlothian, he excited an amount of interest in his cause which could have been kindled by no mere impersonal appeal, either to reason or to feeling. Moreover, Parliament, which means in reality the House of Commons, is not a body to impress the imagination of multitudes. One may be devoted to parliamentary government, one may hold, as I do hold, that it is on the whole the best form of government which has as yet been discovered by man. But parliamentary government is, one must nevertheless admit, a form of government which is apt to be wanting in dignity and in visible effectiveness. The House of Commons wastes time in debates which are neither instructive nor interesting. It does get through a good deal of business, but the one thing visible to the public is that the House is always in arrears with its work. It is always, as Dickens would phrase it, "trying how not to do it," and in this negative effort the House attains constant and depressing success. Thoughtful democrats will therefore tend to throw power into the hands of some leader who is able to make Parliament work with effect. The less thoughtful electors will feel more and more that a known and admired individual, such as Palmerston, Lord Beaconsfield, or Mr. Gladstone, interests them far more keenly than does the House of Commons or the individual members (often commonplace persons enough) who make up the House. Every motive, in short, good and bad, will therefore lead the English democracy to favor that kind of "personal government" under which one man practically elected by and representing the majority of the electors has predominant authority.

Is the growth in England of such personal government as I have described in reality an evil? There are, as it seems to me, valid reasons for answering this inquiry in the negative.

The supremacy, in the first place, of a leading statesman, trusted by the majority of the country, in no way imperils national sovereignty. The loss of popular confidence entails the loss of power. Let it be once ascertained that Mr. Gladstone is no longer trusted by the electors, and a fall of Mr. Gladstone's Government is, we may be certain, at hand. The question, as long as England has a free Parliament and a free press, will never be, as it has often been in France, between the claim of some saviour of society to rule the nation and the right of the nation to rule itself. The only question which can arise must lie between the right of the electors to choose the Premier and fix the general outlines of his policy, and the claim of the House of Commons to elect the Government and actively to control the Executive. On the whole, whenever there exists a statesman of commanding powers, there is every reason to hold that it is better for the nation that he should as far as possible derive his power from the people, and not be trammelled by the intervention of the House of Commons in matters of government. Parliamentary government is excellent. It still remains to be proved whether government by Parliament is in the long run possible, and if it be possible whether it be tolerable. The English democracy are amply justified in preferring that the Executive should be strong. Parliament itself has never done its proper work, has never maintained popular respect, and has never

produced effective legislation except under vigorous guidance. England has been great not when Prime Ministers were weak, but when some Premier of genius commanded Parliament because he represented the nation. It is a plain truth, which one would think hardly more disputable than that two and two make four, that a committee of 600 and odd gentlemen cannot govern an Empire; they could not govern a parish. Such a committee does, however, form, under good guidance, a most valuable body of critics. To create and support a vigorous Ministry—that is, a Ministry to a certain extent independent of Parliamentary factions and Parliamentary intrigues—is therefore the one mode of making Parliament itself really efficient.

It is, in the second place, perfectly clear that the electors, who are in the last resort the sovereign power in England, will in some way or other make their will felt. Two ways present themselves in which large bodies of men may exert their authority. The one is the system apparently favored by Mr. Chamberlain, and of which the readers of the *Nation* know much more than I. This system consists in the enforcing of the strictest party discipline, and forming that kind of "machine" which appears to be much better known than admired by Americans who have at heart the welfare of their country. The other mode of bringing the will of the people to bear, is to induce the electors to place confidence in the leading statesmen with whose views they in the main agree, and in whose character and abilities they have trust. This is the system of "personal government" in its best form, and my belief is that in England the ultimate choice is between such personal government and the "machine." If I am right in this conclusion, the *Nation* and its readers will not be hard to persuade that I am right in preferring the influence of a popular Minister to the power of political mechanism. On this matter there are two things which ought to be borne in mind. No man can obtain in England the influence of Palmerston, Gladstone, Disraeli, or Bright without being long and well known to the electors. He must make his character and his way of looking at politics thoroughly well known to them. He must explain to them, so that every man in England may understand his meaning, what are his principles of government. No man till he has done this can, under the present condition of English politics, be a great popular leader. Hence, it ought to be quite possible for the English democracy to combine allegiance to persons with care for principles, and in such personal allegiance will, it is to be hoped, be found a check on the tendency, fostered by men like Cobden, to regard the whole policy of the nation as subordinate to the success of some one cause.

It should, again, be observed that if the English electors place men to a certain extent above measures, they will be following in spirit one of what used to be considered the soundest of Conservative maxims. We used to be told, and certainly with some truth, that an elector could judge of the character and capacity of a candidate far better than of abstract questions of principle. He could tell that Squire A was a sensible, honest gentleman, and that Lawyer B was a sly, pettifogging scoundrel. He therefore acted wisely in electing the respectable though Conservative landowner in preference to the plausible Radical attorney. English democrats are now showing a tendency to apply this principle on a larger scale. They know the character and antecedents of say Mr. Bright or Mr. Gladstone. They send Mr. Bright or Mr. Gladstone to power mainly because they trust in the character of known leaders. In this I see little to regret, though of course every sensible

person will admit that the principle of "men," not "measures," has, like every other principle, its weak side.

A. V. DICEY.

THE BRADLAUGH CASE IN ITS LATEST PHASE.

LONDON, March 15, 1882.

WE have now entered the third act of the Bradlaugh drama. To us it has become a tedious drama, but to you it must seem so strange, so all but inexplicable, that a letter may well be devoted to explaining the phases it has passed through, and the reasons why it has roused so much warmth of feeling.

Till 1880 Mr. Bradlaugh was known merely as a secularist lecturer, against whom a prosecution (which ultimately failed) had been directed for publishing a book charged with being injurious to public morals, and whose attacks on Christianity, as well as on the Crown and several of the other institutions of the country, had won for him a certain measure of notoriety. He was, however, in no sense a political power; his following was confined to a small section of the working class, and it was rather by his anti-religious than by his political opinions that this section was attracted. For a good many years he had kept himself before the electors of Northampton, where the shoemakers, who form a large part of the population, are extreme Radicals. He contested the borough once or twice; but his Radical adherents were not strong enough to carry him, because the Nonconformists and other Liberals professing Christianity wholly refused to vote for him, and no one would consent to fight along with him in the Liberal interest. In 1880, however, political excitement had risen much higher than on any previous occasion for a long while. No moderate Liberal candidate could be induced to stand for Northampton, because Mr. Bradlaugh's party, though unable to get him in, were able, by giving their votes to him alone, to prevent another Liberal from succeeding. At last, however, a candidate appeared whose political programme was as advanced as Mr. Bradlaugh's, and who consented to run along with him. The recognized manager of the Liberal party, from his office in London, approved their joint candidature. The Nonconformists, in the excitement of the moment, waived their religious objections, and Mr. Bradlaugh, to the astonishment of the country, was returned. When he presented himself in May, 1880, to take his seat in the House of Commons, he asked permission to make an affirmation, such as our statutes provide to be taken in courts of justice by persons who object to an oath. The Parliamentary oath is a short and simple one, but it ends with the words, "So help me, God!" and these words he, not believing in any Supreme Being, claimed not to be obliged to use. The Speaker doubted whether the statute to which he appealed had any application to the Parliamentary oath, and accordingly a committee was appointed to consider the point. When it came to the conclusion that he could not, under the statutes, affirm as he desired, he then claimed to be permitted to take the usual oath in the usual way. A watchful Tory member, however, interposed before he had well begun the ceremony; the Speaker allowed the objection, and a second committee was, after much wrangling, named to consider whether he could be prevented from taking the oath. This committee also reported against his claim, and when he reappeared to take the oath, the House refused to suffer him to do so by a majority of forty-five. He persisted, however, and, being directed by the Speaker to withdraw, refused to do so, so that he was taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-Arms, after a very un-

edifying scene of disorder. Next day he was discharged, because the House did not know what to do with its prisoner, and left at large, while forbidden to take his seat. At length, the position growing more awkward the longer it lasted, Mr. Gladstone took the matter up, and proposed that persons claiming to affirm should be allowed to do so at their own peril, subject to the decision of a court of law. The statute prescribing the Parliamentary oath provides that whoever votes or speaks without having taken it shall forfeit £500 for every offence, and shall vacate his seat. Thus a means was furnished of trying the question at law. Mr. Bradlaugh made the affirmation, and then voted. An action was brought against him for the penalty, which, after the lapse of eight months, during several of which he had sat and spoken, was decided against him. Thus his seat became vacant, and the first act in the drama came to an end.

The second opened with his offering himself again at Northampton and being reelected. Proceeding once more to the House of Commons, he now declared himself ready to take the oath in the usual way, which he had previously declined. But his opponents were more than ever on the alert. They now insisted that he could not be permitted to take the oath, because he had previously declared that it was not binding on his conscience, since the words, "So help me, God!" had no meaning for him. It would, they urged, be a profanation of the oath, an insult to the Deity and to Parliament, to allow the words of the oath to be repeated, and God to be appealed to by one who knew no God at all—to whom the words were so much idle gibberish. To these arguments it was answered that the House of Commons had nothing to do with the administration of the oath, and no right to inquire into the mental state of the person who took it: all that the statute required was that the words should be duly repeated and the ceremony performed; if they saw and heard him do what others did, that was enough. Moreover, he had been reelected, and such knowledge as they had obtained of his opinions by what he stated when he was a member before, and came up asking to affirm in 1880, must now be put out of sight, since he now appeared with the new title to sit derived from his second election in 1881. These considerations were urged by one or two Liberal lawyers and by Mr. Gladstone, who, though he did not make the question a matter of confidence in the Government, was evidently anxious to have it settled. But the House of Commons decided by a pretty large majority not to permit Mr. Bradlaugh to take the oath, and when he persisted in coming forward again and again, passed a resolution directing the Sergeant-at-Arms to exclude him from the precincts of the House. Insisting, however, that it was his duty to take his seat, and that the House was acting illegally in keeping him out, he forced his way into the lobby one day last summer, and had to be removed by force, after an unseemly scuffle. When this session began, and he presented himself as usual to take the oath (the resolution of last session for his exclusion having expired), Sir Stafford Northcote, as leader of the Tory party, again proposed that he should not be permitted to take the oath, and again carried his proposal against the Government, by a majority of about sixty. Three weeks afterward, Mr. Bradlaugh, having carefully chosen his opportunity, darted up the floor of the House one evening, to the table, and there administered the oath to himself before anybody had time to move the Speaker to interpose and stop him. Alleging that he had thus satisfied the statute, he took his seat and voted in a division. This open defiance of its authority irritated the House, so, after a

tumultuous debate, the Conservative leader carried his summary expulsion. Mr. Gladstone and many of the Liberals, condemning his conduct as disrespectful to the House, declined to vote, but about eighty still supported him, on the ground that his offence did not deserve expulsion, and that the question whether he had vacated his seat ought to be regularly tried.

With this expulsion—an extreme penalty, which the House of Commons has the legal right to inflict, rarely as it has been inflicted—the second act of the drama was wound up. Most people thought, and many Liberals as well as nearly all Tories hoped, that the whole play had ended. They were tired of Mr. Bradlaugh, and expected to see him no more, because they conceived that the borough of Northampton would disapprove of his principles and his conduct, and, perceiving that Parliament was resolved not to have him, would choose some other representative. In so reasoning they forgot to allow for the dogged persistency of the English character, and that tendency to sympathize with any man, however little they may otherwise like him, who seems to be getting less than justice. Had Parliament been dissolved and an election taken place in the ordinary course of things, it is almost certain that Mr. Bradlaugh would have lost his seat. The Nonconformists would have been swayed by their old dislike of his secularism, and without the Nonconformists his own special partisans could have done but little. His expulsion, however, had raised the feeling of the town in his favor. Northampton felt itself pitted against the House of Commons, and determined to show that it could be as obstinate as the House. Accordingly, Mr. Bradlaugh was again returned, by a smaller majority no doubt, but after such great efforts by his opponents that it was plain that the whole Liberal party in the town was disposed to stand by him and back him up in his struggle with the House of Commons. That struggle immediately recommenced; for as soon as his election had been announced, and before he appeared applying to be sworn, Sir Stafford Northcote once more moved and carried a resolution forbidding him to take the oath. An amendment was moved by one of the Liberals who had formerly opposed his admission, declaring that some measure ought to be introduced permitting an affirmation in lieu of an oath; and this being put as an alternative to Sir Stafford Northcote's resolution, was lost by sixteen votes only. The result has been to leave things exactly where they were before. Mr. Bradlaugh is member for Northampton, but cannot take his seat, cannot vote or speak, because he has not taken the oath, and cannot take the oath because the majority of the House of Commons will not let him—a strange and uncomfortable predicament for all parties; but nobody seems to know how to get out of it. One person, however, has seen what is the logical result of the action of the House of Commons. This is Lord Redesdale, an old-fashioned and sternly-consistent Tory, who has introduced in the House of Lords a bill providing that every member of either House of Parliament shall before admission solemnly declare his belief in Almighty God. The notion of imposing a new theological test at this time of day has caused some amusement, and the bill will of course never pass even the House of Lords.

What, then, some one may ask, is the explanation of the behavior of the House of Commons? Why should it be thought absurd for Lord Redesdale to propose formally what they have done practically? The answer is that they have been drawn on, step by step, into their present position, and that they have been governed not so much by general principles applicable to the case of every person who, being an unbeliever,

should offer to take the oath, as by dislike to the particular man in whose person the case has arisen for solution. When the first objection was taken nearly two years ago, it was laid hold of by the Tories, then smarting from their defeat at the polls, as an unexpected means of harassing the Liberal Ministry. Soon they became interested in the struggle, their animosity to Mr. Bradlaugh increasing with his persistency, and their dislike to his taking the oath, which at first seemed in some of them not altogether sincere, having now become a strong and earnest feeling. Although not many would go so far as to say that all atheists or pantheists ought to be absolutely excluded from Parliament, a great many really think so, and are glad of the opportunity of excluding one who has become conspicuous by his attacks on religion. Among the Liberals few would confess to such a feeling, and all are sensible of the mischief done to the party by keeping the question open. The Government have suffered in credit by having been overridden by the majority of the House; the party as a whole suffers by being mixed up in the minds of respectable people with an unpopular personality. Nevertheless, a large number of Liberals inside the House of Commons have steadily voted, against their party leaders, to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh's being permitted to take the oath, and a considerable body of Liberal opinion in the country, particularly in Scotland and the North of Ireland, supports the same view.

They are swayed by a mixture of feelings. In the first place, they think that as he began by declaring that the oath was meaningless to him, it would now be enacting a solemn farce to let him repeat its words. The oath would be desecrated, the House would be stultified; public respect for the sanctity of such a solemn appeal to Heaven would be gravely shaken. Then, further, they have conceived a horror of Mr. Bradlaugh's views—not merely his political and anti-religious views, but his declarations on other moral and social questions as to which public opinion in England is very sensitive. His presence in the great legislative assembly of the nation seems to them a misfortune, which they would willingly avert. If there were no technical objection to his entering it, why of course he must be allowed to enter; but when there is such an objection, they are not eager to remove it. And lastly, they fear that if they should vote for his admission their vote would be misunderstood by pious and respectable men among their constituents. They would be thought to be "voting for Bradlaugh"—i.e., voting for a man who has spent his life in diffusing doctrines which most well-conducted people hold in horror. The electors, they fear, would make no fine distinctions as to the legal points in the case, but would simply consider that a member who voted to admit Mr. Bradlaugh voted in his favor, and thereby expressed sympathy with his position and his views. Under these combined influences of personal feeling and fear of misconception, a considerable number of Liberal members have either abstained from voting or have voted with the Tories for the exclusion of the member for Northampton; and it has now apparently become too late to get the matter considered as a mere dry legal question, with which the doctrines or behavior of the individual has nothing to do.

How will the problem be solved? The obvious solution is to pass an act abolishing the oath of allegiance altogether (a rational course, for which people seem hardly prepared), or permitting any person who does not wish to take the oath to make an affirmation instead, as various classes of persons are now allowed to do in courts of justice. There would be a majority in the House of

Lords against any such measure; and probably the House of Lords in its present warlike temper might reject it. It would, moreover, be so strenuously opposed by the Tory party in the House of Commons that much precious time might be spent in carrying it, and not merely spent but lost, if it were to be rejected by the Lords. This is probably the reason why Mr. Gladstone refuses to take the matter up. Although he has of course great aversion to Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions, he has been so much annoyed by the behavior of the House that he would gladly see the question settled by the admission of the excluded member. That must come sooner or later; the only question is, whether the Tory party will be able to keep the sore open till a general election is at hand, in the hope that the Radical party may be discredited by their support of Mr. Bradlaugh's claims.

However small the legal question involved, the case becomes instructive when one sees in it an instance of the perplexities in which assemblies become involved by the necessity of observing fixed rules. Here is a purely technical matter which, with a little common sense, might have been disposed of in a few hours had people been so willing. Party spirit getting hold of it, and taking advantage of the forms of the House of Commons, makes out of it a problem which has cost weeks already, and is as far as ever from solution. It is also an instance of the way in which men tend to confound an abstract principle with a concrete example. The fact that Mr. Bradlaugh is an atheist and an assailant of the monarchy looms so large before people's minds, that they cannot or will not consider whether the House of Commons has not gone beyond its strict legal right in keeping him out. "Ought atheists to be legislators?" "Is not Christianity a part of the Constitution?" These and similar questions are the questions which we hear put, as if the point of law were to be decided by them. Yet nobody would have thought of putting them in the case of any man elected a member who might, like Mr. J. S. Mill, have written books in which the existence of a Deity was questioned. Everybody knows that there are already in Parliament persons who make no secret of their disbelief. No one, except Lord Redesdale, thinks of interfering with them. But Mr. Bradlaugh is thought fair game. Nor can those who pursue him be brought to see that they are really making him and his opinions far more familiar to and influential with the working classes than they could otherwise have become. It is lucky that there is no revolutionary party in England now, for if there were, Mr. Bradlaugh's case would go far to rouse it into action, and to provoke a quarrel between the House of Commons and the masses. B.

Correspondence.

THE CHINESE AND THE DEMAGOGUES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Although I am a constant reader of the *Nation*, I have never been more deeply impressed than I was by your late article on the Chinese Bill, which I see from the newspapers has just passed also the lower house of Congress. I was in California when the measure was first brought forward in the United States Senate, and when it was exciting the greatest interest, I might say, among all classes of the population of the Pacific coast. In connection with your comments, made respecting the speech of Mr. George of Mississippi, in the Senate, "in which he assumes the bill to be a confession that this is 'a white man's government,'" I was much struck with one argu-

ment I remembered as having been used, in discussing this same subject, by some of the most intelligent men of San Francisco, at the time I have referred to. This was, that every Californian should profit by the sad, but at the same time perfectly logical, result of the powers granted the negroes, as in Virginia, and avoid at once in California every possibility of similar occurrences, and the great dangers, not to speak of the disgrace, attending them.

The present political revolution in Virginia, one of the oldest and most conservative communities of the country—involving the repudiation of a great part of the State debt, and the changes for the worse in its judiciary, together with the total disorganization in the management, not only of the charitable, but even of the educational State institutions—brought about by Senator Mahone, by means of the vote of nearly the entire negro population, has had no little influence, I assure you, in alarming even the less intelligent here as to what may be in store for every community on this coast with a Denis Kearney in the place of Mahone, using for his own ends the balance of power which the Chinese too, if the negroes are to be upheld, will surely gain through the ballot with time and any further increase in their number.

Respectfully,

C. M. B.

TUCSON, ARIZONA, March 24, 1882.

LANGE'S 'ALTERTHUEMER.'

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A "Note" in the *Nation* of February 16 recalls to my mind studies once pursued with ardor, but for some time pressed aside by more urgent duties. Speaking of Madvig's 'Verfassung und Verwaltung des Römischen Staates,' you refer to the "great works" of Mommsen-Marquardt and Lange. Objection should be taken, I think, to the commendation of Lange here implied, as misleading to the student who looks to the German scholar for something more than a collection of facts—for a comprehensive, judicious presentation of the development of Roman institutions. Going over such a battleground for scholars as the early history of Rome is, it is important that the student should estimate the real value of a work to which he may trust for guidance in respect to its treatment of the history as a whole; in respect to what I may call its *statesmanlike touch*. It is important to judge how it grasps the constitutional growth of Rome, as the modern historian grasps the constitutional growth of England, for example—as a reality to be illustrated and explained by the critical ingenuity of scholars, not as a proposition of historical dialectics to be maintained and controverted by successive generations of disputants. Judged by this test, I do not think Lange's 'Alterthümer' can fairly be called a great book. Extensive it certainly is, and with great apparent erudition in the foot-notes, though I think serious exception can be taken to it in this respect.

It is of course not to be expected that the most careful student will verify the majority of the references in the foot-notes of such a work as Lange's. But he must feel confidence that his author has done so, that they really represent what the text claims they do, and are supports of the positions taken in the text. A very extended and thorough use of Lange gave me reason to doubt that the notes are of this kind. Frequent attempts at verification led me to the conclusion that, to a considerable degree, these notes are simply transferences at second or third hand, without verification, from numerous other modern historians and compilers. Compared with the full and accurate quotations of the

Mommsen-Marquardt series, of Mommsen's essays, of Schwieger's history, they are almost worthless.

This is, however, a small matter compared with the defect in the work I have implied above—its failure to grasp Roman history as an organic whole, with a vital and real development, which determined the character of the several institutions, and which must be the guiding line of valuable criticism on its several parts. This broad, statesmanlike perception of Roman constitutional growth is one of the great features of Mommsen's work—perhaps the greatest feature of his History, and hardly less noticeable in the masterly essays, published (I believe) in 1864, under the title, 'Römische Forschungen.' Here we have a most acute scholar, as his book on the tribes shows, applying himself to the study of institutions in such a way that it is always the statesmanly instinct which directs and holds in hand the exercise of that critical argumentation and ingenuity which sometimes run away with other Germans. Here, it seems to me, Lange falls far short. He has none of the broad, strong grasp on Roman polity which I have just spoken of as characteristic of Mommsen. His ingenuity is ingenuity pure and simple, with no other necessary connection with Roman history than that the latter affords the subject of its exercise.

In illustration of what I mean, take Lange's complicated, artificial, and improbable notion of the *patrum auctoritas* and *lex curiata de imperio*; or, as a better illustration, and one which goes deeper into the character of the political life of the early republic, the way in which he discusses the relation of the *plebs* to the curiate assembly. After Mommsen had well-nigh demonstrated the presence of the *plebs* in the *curiæ* and the *comitia curiata*, at a very early period, Lange, feeling the force of Mommsen's argument, but unable to see that this is a great political factor in the institutions of Rome, a probable or improbable result of the development of Roman institutions, to be passed on as fact, in its entirety; and also unable to see that the theory of their exclusion is purely artificial, the result of Niebuhr's critical, but sometimes extravagant, reconstruction of Roman history—Lange, I say, unable to judge of historical facts as such, and unwilling to abandon a theory entirely, invents a compromise which he passes as history.

This letter is too long already, but an old enthusiasm for the study of the Roman Constitution was awakened by your Note, and I have hoped to induce the small number of special students of this subject to carefulness in their reading.—Yours very truly,

D. W. BROWN.

NEW YORK.

[In speaking of Lange's book as "great," we had reference of course to its size. We should not call the Becker-Marquardt work "great" in any other sense: the Mommsen-Marquardt treatise is the only one to which this epithet will apply in any broader sense. But while admitting that Lange is not a great writer, in the sense in which Mommsen and Niebuhr are great, and that he has not the deep and intuitive insight of these writers—that he fails in a degree "to grasp Roman history as an organic whole, with a vital and real development"—his book is nevertheless one that we value highly and make constant use of. No writer has worked out so satisfactorily and completely the patriarchal institutions out of which the Roman institutions grew; and the chapters upon the constitu-

tional history of Rome which occupy part of the third volume and the whole of the fourth, while, it is true, principally made up of detail, are nevertheless the best book of reference for these details. If not a "great" book, it is a very useful one.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. will publish, by subscription, in an elegant edition, limited to 1,000 copies, 'English and Scottish Popular Ballads,' edited in their entirety and purity by Prof. Francis J. Child, of Harvard University. They have also in press 'The Gipsies,' by Charles G. Leland.

Cassell & Co. will shortly have ready 'The Constitution of the United States,' a popular exposition by Simon Sterne, of the New York Bar.

We understand that Mr. F. H. Underwood, whose sketch of the poet Lowell has lately been published by J. R. Osgood & Co., is now well advanced in the preparation of his biography of Longfellow, projected and begun over a year ago, and aided by frequent counsels and suggestions from Mr. Longfellow, who had also chosen most of the subjects to be used as illustrations. Messrs. Osgood hope to have it ready in a few weeks, as the pictures are now well advanced. They will include the ancestral home at Newbury, the birthplace of the poet at Portland, and other scenes of similar character.

Alfred Barbou's 'Victor Hugo and His Times,' translated by Ellen E. Frewer, and profusely illustrated, is announced by Harper & Bros., as also a work on 'The New York Volunteer Fire Department,' by George W. Sheldon.

Henry Holt & Co.'s announcements include the second volumes of Cory's 'Guide to Modern English History' and of Fyffe's 'History of Modern Europe'; Lady Jackson's 'The Old Régime'; J. A. Doyle's 'English Colonization of America'; Frances Anne Kemble's 'Records of Later Times'; Bernhard Ten Brink's 'English Literature'; and Heine's 'Romantic School.'

A new and uniform edition of Mr. T. W. Higginson's works, and new editions of Wendell Phillips's 'Speeches and Lectures' and 'Scholar in a Republic' (the latter with an appendix containing Mr. Phillips's plan of civil-service reform), and of Mrs. Mann's 'Life of Horace Mann,' are promised by Lee & Shepard.

'The Geological and Mineral Resources of the James River Valley of Virginia,' by Dr. J. L. Campbell, is in the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Peter G. Thomson, Cincinnati, issues immediately General J. D. Cox's 'Second Battle of Bull Run, as connected with the Fitz-John Porter Case.'

'American Caves,' from an historical, scientific, and descriptive point of view, by Professor H. C. Hovey, is the title of a work announced by Robert Clarke & Co.

Of timely interest is the 'Walking Guide to the White Mountains,' by a member of the Appalachian Club, which will have the imprint of A. Williams & Co., Boston.

'Hunting and Trapping,' six months in winter camp in the Maine wilderness, by Captain F. C. Barker and J. S. Danforth, will be published this month by D. Lothrop & Co., Boston.

The Soule Photograph Company, Boston, succeeds John P. Soule in the business of photographic art reproductions, so long and favorably known to the public. The new firm consists of Messrs. W. B. Everett and W. S. Soule.

The *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* (Putnam's), formerly edited by Dr. I. S. Jewell, of Chicago, begins its ninth volume with a new editor, Dr. W. J. Morton, of New York, and with a large and attractive number of 240 pages.

In two long articles Drs. Beard and Hammond urge that, while Guiteau is a lunatic, he is or may be at the same time deserving of punishment—a view of the relations between medical and legal insanity much more familiar to alienists in Europe than to those in this country. The *Journal* will, no doubt, be attractive reading to others than specialists.

Those interested in the education of defectives will find much that is valuable in the modest little pamphlet on the 'Education of the Blind,' from the pen of Mr. M. Anagnos, Boston. A hasty and popularly written sketch of the condition of the blind from the middle of the seventeenth century to the present is followed by an account of the Perkins Institution, of which the author is the head, and of Dr. Howe and Laura Bridgman. Mr. Anagnos is his own publisher.

Macmillan & Co. will shortly bring out Matthew Arnold's 'Irish Essays' and J. P. Mahaffy's 'Decay of Modern Preaching.'

Under the title of 'One of Cleopatra's Nights, and Other Romances' (New York: R. Worthington), Mr. Lafcadio Hearn has translated Gautier's charming dream-stories into English with a scholarly understanding of their mythological and historical basis, and with such rare insight and sympathy, as well as skill and taste in reproducing phraseology, that the author's glowing fancies and grace and delicacy of style are even more noticeable to a foreigner than in the original. Comparing the translation with the French, it proves to be perfect in every respect, excepting a few words that might have been better chosen.

Three instalments of the 'History of the Second Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry' have recently been published in Boston. Captain Geo. A. Thayer writes of the part taken by the regiment at Chancellorsville, Colonel Charles F. Morse describes Gettysburg, and Captain Samuel M. Quincy reproduces his diary, kept while a prisoner of war, between August and November, 1862. Each of these papers was read at one of the annual reunions of the officers. Of their great value, not only as material for military history, but also as graphic pictures of the every-day life of the rank and file during the great war, there can be no question, and no stronger evidence could be produced of the high character of the famous Second Massachusetts than these three admirable papers, showing the culture and education of the men who were company-officers in that regiment. Captain Thayer's paper not only describes the part played by his regiment at Chancellorsville, but gives an excellent summary of the principal features of the whole battle.

Marcus Ward & Co., 734 Broadway, send us a great variety of floral emblems in the shape of Easter cards. While most of them are fine specimens of color-printing, the range of both designs and mottoes is inferior to that of the Prang series noticed last week.

E. C. Bridgman, 83 Warren Street, sends us his new railroad and township wall map of New York State, which is on a scale of five miles to the inch. The lettering is bold and distinct. In the free spaces are given the whole of Long Island, at scale, a ward map of New York city, a map of the whole United States, and various tables of statistics—population, Congressional districts, railroad distances, post-offices, express companies, etc. As railroads in process of building (like the West Side and the New York, Lackawanna and Western) are represented as complete, the map in this respect will be less out of date a year or two hence than now.

Late in life Mr. Tennyson took up dramatic writing, and saw three of his plays acted on the stage. Mr. Tupper is moved by the same tardy spirit. W. H. Allen & Co., London, announce as

in press "Three Five-Act Plays and Twelve Dramatic Scenes, suitable for recitation and home theatricals. By Martin F. Tupper, D.C.L., F.R.S., author of 'Proverbial Philosophy.'" It will be remembered that Mr. Tupper kindly wrote a drama about Washington at the time of our Centennial Celebration, and not long after Mr. Tennyson had published "Queen Mary."

Mr. Henry B. Wheatley has recently published in a thin volume (London: Elliot Stock; New York: Scribner & Welford) a paper on 'Book-binding Considered as a Fine Art, Mechanical Art, and Manufacture,' which was read by him two years ago before the Society of Arts. In so contracted a space the essayist must perforce take a hasty view of a widely extended subject; and this paper is therefore of less interest and value than Mr. Cundall's volume, and than the admirably illustrated book of Mr. Zaensdorf, both of which are about contemporaneous with its delivery originally. But anything is to be welcomed which draws attention to the fact that bookbinding is an art and not a mere mechanical process. Mr. Wheatley's essay is illustrated by eleven plates, all more or less rough. The most important is an English binding of the sixteenth century from Queen Elizabeth's library, with the badge of her mother, Anne Boleyn.

—At the last meeting of the Biological Society of Washington, Dr. Elliott Coues laid before the members the advance sheets of his latest contribution to ornithology, about to be published in Boston by Estes & Lauriat. This work is ostensibly the second edition of his 'Check List of North American Birds,' published in 1874, but enlarged to include a lexicon of the etymology, orthography, and orthoepy of the scientific names of North American birds, a concordance of previous lists, and a catalogue of the author's ornithological publications, some 300 in number. In his remarks on recent advances in the study of ornithology, Dr. Coues sketched the progress of our knowledge of North American birds under heads of the Wilsonian, the Audubonian, the Bairdian, and the modern periods, showing that in round numbers the current lists of birds of each of these periods increased by 200 names—the Wilsonian showing 300, the Audubonian 500, the Bairdian 700, and the present one 900. The total number of names in Dr. Coues's new list is 888, being an increase of 120 over the 768 tenable names of the original edition of 1874. A portion of this accession results from the formal inclusion of Greenland birds in the North American list; and another large portion from discoveries of species over our Mexican border and in Alaska. The speaker stated that some twenty or thirty, perhaps, of his 888 species or sub-species might not be regarded by all persons as valid; and with this margin of probable reduction of his figures, making due allowance for probable discoveries, he presumed that the list of North American birds, stragglers, etc., included, would finally settle at about 900. The novel feature of Dr. Coues's work was stated to consist in the philological character of the explanation it gives of the derivation and application of the technical names. Every word, both generic and specific, is defined, with the usual diacritical marks of quantity and accent. The "Roman" pronunciation is adopted and recommended. The treatise makes a royal octavo of some 200 pages.

—Surgeon Joseph R. Smith, United States Army, has prepared a paper concerning the 'Retired List of the Army,' which has considerable interest at the present time, in view of the provision in the Army Appropriation Bill now pending in the House of Representa-

tives, which places all officers on the retired list when they reach the age of sixty-two. He shows that the retired list originated in 1861, and under the laws then and subsequently passed it now consists of five different classes of officers—namely, (1) those retired on their own application after forty years of service, (2) those retired on the report of a Board as being incapacitated for active service, (3) those retired in the discretion of the President after forty-five years of service, or having attained the age of sixty-two years, (4) those retired on their own application, in the discretion of the President, after thirty years of service, and (5) those restored to the service and placed on the retired list by Act of Congress. The whole number at present is limited to 400, and three-fourths of them are included in the second class. The whole number retired in twenty years has been 585. The mortality in the first and third classes (those retired for age) has been about 6 per cent. per annum, while in the second class (retired for wounds) it has been less than 4 per cent. The mortality among officers on the active list in the last twenty years has been 1.56 per cent., excluding losses in battle, and 1.94 per cent., including such losses. The great number of officers, of the same average age, placed in the Army upon the reorganization at the close of the war, has now brought about such a stagnation in promotion as very seriously to affect its morale. Officers are attaining their fiftieth year while still captains, and their sixtieth year as majors; more than one-third of the first lieutenants of infantry are over forty years of age, and a large proportion of officers have been serving from fifteen to twenty years in one grade. The result is that officers pass the prime of their life in subordinate positions without responsibility, and only attain the more important positions at such an advanced age and so little accustomed to responsibility that their usefulness is greatly diminished. In order to remove this stagnation, at least in part, it is now proposed to remove the restriction as to numbers on the retired list, and to apply to the Army the same law that has been found to work very well in the Navy for the past twenty years—viz., that every officer shall be placed on the retired list on attaining the age of sixty-two. It is found on examination that under such a law forty-two officers would be retired during the present year and smaller numbers on succeeding years, the number reaching 119 in the space of six years. Surgeon Smith's paper is in advocacy of such a law, and the statistics and arguments which he presents are valuable and interesting.

—The total number of students in attendance at the University of Michigan this year is 1,534, just the same as the total given in the annual calendar for 1880-81. Compared with last year, the Department of Law and the School of Pharmacy have made slight gains. In no department has there been any material loss. In point of numbers this university has risen rapidly, till it now holds the leading position among the higher educational institutions of the country. Organized and conducted primarily for the purpose of meeting the wants of citizens of Michigan, it pursues a wise and generous policy toward students coming from other States and countries. At the present time only forty-five per cent. of its students have their homes in Michigan. The number of women in attendance is about one hundred and eighty, or nearly twelve per cent. In the department of literature, science, and the arts, or, as it might be called, the collegiate department, students are allowed a wide though not unlimited choice of studies. The aim appears to be to secure the benefits and to avoid the dangers

of the elective system by prescribing a part of the work to be done by the candidates for the several literary degrees, or by requiring the student to elect a specified amount of work from limited groups of studies. The announcement of the organization of a School of Political Science, and a description of some of the studies to be pursued in the School, appear for the first time in the calendar for the current year.

—The first volume of Dr. Hayman's edition of the *Odyssey*, containing the first six books, appeared in 1866; the second, containing the next six books, in 1873; and the third volume, covering the remaining twelve books of the poem, is now published (London: David Nutt; New York: B. Westermann & Co.). Soon after the appearance of the second volume, in the spring of 1874, the trouble which the editor had been having with the assistant masters and with the governing body of Rugby School came to an end in his dismissal from the head-mastership. To this he makes indignant and pathetic reference in the preface to the third volume and in the Greek motto (Od. 14, 372 f., which runs thus in English: "But as for me, I dwell apart by the swine and go not to the city"). The whole work is a monument of untiring industry and perseverance, which does not flag even in the last twelve books of the poem, where most readers find their interest somewhat languid except at one or two points. As a contribution to Homeric scholarship, the chief value of this edition lies in its marginal references to occurrences of words and phrases in other parts of both Homeric poems. These will be used, however, mainly by specialists in the study of Homer, while the discussions in the prefaces and appendices contain matter interesting to other scholars. Those in the first volume, it is true, are confined mainly to the history of the text of Homer and to discussions of the characters and language of the poems. But before the second volume appeared, Mr. F. A. Paley had set forth, in the prefaces to his edition of the *Iliad*, a theory in regard to the late origin of the present form of the Homeric poems, arguing that it was not earlier than the Peloponnesian war. This led Dr. Hayman to devote the prefaces to his second and third volumes, of 133 and 152 pages respectively, to a minute discussion of the evidences of a knowledge of the poems as we have them, and of the use of the art of writing for literary purposes, for a century or two earlier than that time. Mr. Paley's theory has produced a great many magazine articles and pamphlets, but, so far as we know, he has made only two converts, Prof. A. H. Sayce, in England, and Dr. Johannes Overdick (*absit omen!*), in Germany. Whatever we may think of the wisdom of adding two hundred pages on such a subject to an edition of a classical author, there can be no doubt that there is much valuable matter in Dr. Hayman's essays, and very little doubt that he leaves the Paleian theory in a rather mournful condition.

—Berlioz's symphony of "Romeo and Juliet," which will receive its first complete representation in New York at the sixth concert of the Symphony Society next Saturday, is spoken of as follows in an article by M. Blaze de Bury in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for March 15:

"'Romeo and Juliet' is a tragedy which has come down from the stage into the orchestra. It not only undertakes to depict the psychologic state of two lovers, their ardors, their frenzy, their despair; it does more: the entire drama is unfolded, scene by scene, and without words; the altercation between the domestics at the rising of the curtain; the intervention of the prince as a peace-maker; the ball of the Capulets—and all this splendid, imposing, inspiring; possessing an interest at once musical and dramatic; a De-lacroix set to orchestral music, with a programme written by Shakespeare."

The article in question is devoted to Schubert and his indebtedness to Diderot's novel of 'La Religieuse,' and abounds in bold epigrams which almost defy translation. Among other brilliant things in his essay, M. de Bury cites a long conversation which he once held with Musset concerning Schubert. "What secrets this man possessed," said Musset. "Do you know a single voice of nature of which he has not caught the individuality? . . . Truly, an incomparable landscapist." Further on we are told that the influence of the piano was so powerful on Schubert that his most beautiful songs make the impression of *études* for the piano with a human-voice accompaniment. Again, Schubert is the most modern of the moderns. His music is impregnated with the picturesque and with literature. Music was architectural with Sebastian Bach, sentimental and psychologic with Haydn and Mozart, the art of pure thought with Beethoven, and in Franz Schubert turned to the picturesque.

—In the same number of the *Revue M. Othenin d'Haussonville*, one of the French delegates to the Yorktown celebration, prints the second instalment of his American diary. It is throughout almost always laudatory, the writer evidently feeling that the cordial reception given to our visitors and the great pains that were taken to make their stay agreeable forbade his saying anything that could offend American susceptibilities. It is worth noting that he collected a great deal of correct information, although he does not entirely escape the mistakes to which travellers in general and Frenchmen in particular are liable in judging of foreign countries. Thus, in mentioning that the corner-stone of the monument at Yorktown was laid by the Grand Master of Masons instead of President Arthur, he expresses a doubt whether this circumstance, in spite of the very simple explanation it received, did not point to a dangerous increase of the influence of the Freemasons on public affairs. Our public men generally made a favorable impression on him, and he was particularly pleased with General Sherman, whose appearance was about what he had imagined—at once martial and unaffected, half soldier, half gentleman-farmer, a Davout tempered by a Bugeaud.

—The Academy of Sciences, Paris, has lately awarded the Valz Astronomical Prize to Mr. David Gill, Her Majesty's astronomer at the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Gill has devoted his time most energetically for many years past to researches on the distance of the sun, and it is in recognition of this service that the award of the Valz Prize has been made to him—especially in consideration of his observations of Mars, at the Island of Ascension, in 1877, as discussed in a recent volume of the *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society*. The committee was of opinion that the expedition to Ascension was fully successful, as Mr. Gill obtained twenty-two series of observations of the planet, each of which gives a value of the parallax of the sun; and the value resulting from a combination of all these was considered one of the most exact yet obtained. The astronomical prizes offered by the Academy for the present year are the Lalande and the Valz Prizes, and a renewal of the Damoiseau Prize, 10,000 francs in value, for a review of the theory of the satellites of Jupiter—this subject having been first proposed in 1869, and renewed four times since, no memoir having so far been presented to the Academy which could be regarded as meriting the award.

—Nothing is more bewildering to students in the field of Biblical criticism than the manifold attempts to harmonize the chronology of the Hebrew Scriptures with that of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Persians, as re-

corded in the cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions, in the Canon of Ptolemy, the fragments of Manetho and Berosus, Herodotus, etc. Some of the works devoted to the subject are perfect mazes of speculation, computation, and conjecture. Such is preëminently Johann Raška's 'Die Chronologie der Bibel im Einklange mit der Zeitrechnung der Ägypter und Assyrier' (Vienna, 1878). Less extensive, but more perplexing in its method and execution, and surpassingly venturesome in its conjectural flights, is Victor Floigl's 'Geschichte des Semitischen Altertums in Tabellen' (Leipzig, 1882), with introductory elucidations, which has so speedily followed the same author's 'Cyrus und Herodot nach den neugefundenen Keilschriften' (Leipzig, 1881). Both these bold, if not reckless, reconstructors of ancient chronology are Austrian provincial scholars, Raška being professor at Budweis, and Floigl dating his preface at Gratz. A less ambitious, and, we believe, much sounder, attempt in the same sphere is Heinrich Matzat's (a Prussian provincial teacher) 'Chronologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Könige von Juda und Israel' (Weilburg, 1880). But the best recently published summary of the ancient history of the states east and west of the Euphrates is Fritz Hommel's 'Abriß der babylonisch-assyrischen und israelitischen Geschichte . . . in Tabellenform' (Leipzig, 1880). This little book presents in a succinct and clear manner the most generally adopted results of recent investigation, and will be found a very handy companion by teachers as well as students.

Scholars in this country have often deplored the fact that they were cut off from one attractive and valuable class of studies, that of palæography and its application to textual criticism. The improved methods of photographic printing, however, are gradually bringing within their reach treasures heretofore locked up in European libraries. We need not refer to the facsimiles of classical and Oriental manuscripts which have been published lately in Germany and England, but will pass to a more restricted and less-known field, that of Romance palæography. Until quite recently even the most famous monuments of the French language were accessible only in the unsatisfactory facsimiles in Roquefort's 'Glossaire,' and Chevallet's 'Origine et Formation de la Langue Française.' In 1875 Gaston Paris published for the Société des Anciens Textes Français superb heliogravures of the 'Oaths,' 'St. Eulalie,' 'The Passion,' 'St. Leger,' and the 'Fragment' of Valenciennes. Three years later Prof. Stengel, of Marburg, had the Bodleian M^s. (Digby 23) of the 'Chanson de Roland' photographed entire and published in that form by Henninger, of Heilbronn. Although the appearance of such a book will not compare with that of the work before mentioned, it is on the whole the most satisfactory process, and there is a sentimental feeling of satisfaction and security in using the direct photograph which one does not experience with the other methods, though they may be as safe. The next essay in this direction was by Professor E. Monaci, of Rome, who published the 'Provençal Mystery of St. Agnes.' The favorable reception accorded to this work has induced Signor Monaci to undertake other similar ones, the first of which is before us. Part 1 contains twenty-five sheets of heliotype facsimiles printed upon hand-made paper, and is sold at the very low price of twelve francs. The manuscripts, with two exceptions, are from Roman libraries, and contain Old French, Provençal, Catalan, Spanish, and Italian texts. A brief notice directs attention to printed editions of texts (where such exist), and to de-

tailed descriptions of the MSS. The four Provençal texts are from the two famous Vatican MSS. (5232, 3207) of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and consist of biographies of several troubadours, parts of *canzoni*, and a portion of a short treatise on Provençal poetry. Among the old French texts the most valuable are the Glosses of Cassel, here given entire in seven sheets, and the fragment of the poem on Alexander the Great (first published by Heyse, 'Romanische Inedita,' 1856), in two sheets, which may be had separately for the use of students. The Italian texts consist of a Latin legal document, dated 1193, and containing an admixture of Italian words, a formula of confession in Latin and Italian, an extract from a volume of annals of Perugia, the beginning of a will (Siena, 1567), one hundred and eleven verses from the 'Tesoretto' of Brunetto Latini, and an extract from G. Villani's 'Chronicle.' This last MS. is the only one that possesses any artistic interest. At the bottom of the page is a miniature representing the execution of the unfortunate Conradin. We trust that Signor Monaci's enterprise may meet with the warm encouragement of Romance scholars in this country, who ought to be especially grateful for such publications. The same publishers announce an *Archivio Paleografico Italiano* conducted by E. Monaci and C. Paoli. It will appear at irregular intervals, in numbers of about tensheets, of the same form, we presume, as the 'Facsimili.'

SYMONDS'S RENAISSANCE IN ITALY.

Renaissance in Italy. By John Addington Symonds. 2 vols. Part 1. The Age of the Despots. Part 2. The Revival of Learning. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1881.

It is pleasant to chronicle the issue of an American edition of Mr. Symonds's history of the Renaissance in a style quite worthy to be compared with the original. Such American spellings as *theater*, *center*, *meager*, *equaled*, *practiced*, strike the eye; and we note an occasional misprint, as *adventures for adventurers*, i., p. 131; *villians*, p. 147; *credible for creditable*, p. 185; *imperasse for imperasset*, p. 130. But, on the whole, the reprint is as correct as it is elegant.

These books have so high and well-established a reputation that it would seem hardly necessary to do more than mention their publication. But we understand that the issue of part 3, "The Fine Arts," is conditional upon the reception accorded to these volumes; we wish, therefore, to express very heartily our gratification at the undertaking, and to hope that it will prove a success in every respect. In order to emphasize more strongly the importance of the work, it will be well to call attention more particularly to the character of the epoch and to Mr. Symonds's treatment of it. The great reawakening of the fifteenth century is largely associated in our minds with inventions and discoveries—the invention of printing and the discovery of America are perhaps the two things that occur to us first in connection with it. With neither of these fields did the "Renaissance in Italy" have much to do: Columbus and Cabot were Italians, to be sure, but it was as Spaniard and Englishman that they made their voyages. It was upon classical literature and art that the activity of Italy was exercised at this period: "It was the duty of Italy in the fifteenth century," says our author, ii., p. 321, ". . . to resuscitate culture." To each of these two topics, therefore—the revival of learning and the fine arts—the author has devoted a volume; an introductory volume undertakes to characterize the age in its political and historical character—this is 'The Age of the Despots.'

The state of society depicted in these two volumes is without question the foulest of which we have any record. We cannot say that it was worse in reality than that of Rome in the early empire, or of Greece in its decline, for there is no description of society in those earlier periods so complete and detailed as that which we are enabled to construct of the period before us; but, so far as we possess the materials for a comparison, the fifteenth century of our era must be pronounced worse than the first. We have no knowledge, in all human history, of anything so profoundly and universally corrupt. When, in part 1, the reader comes to the account of a prince, Duke Frederick of Urbino, distinguished for integrity, good faith, and personal purity; or, in part 2, to the description of a scholar, Vittorino da Feltre, at once learned, simple, and pious, he is struck with a certain sense of unreality and incongruity. Is it possible that characters like these could be produced in such an age as this? Of course, as such examples show, there were exceptions to the general demoralization, and Mr. Symonds denies (part 1, p. 488) "that the humanities of the race at large . . . were vitiated." He adds that "the immorality of the age descended from the upper stratum of society downwards." Here, we imagine, is the great contrast between the corruption of this age and that of the early Roman Empire. Whatever virtue survived in ancient Rome was in the upper classes—the representatives, so far as they were to be found, of the genuine Romans of the Republic. In the period before us, the people at large retained something of practical Christianity when it had wholly vanished from the upper clergy and the nobility.

This will serve to explain the fact that the picture of the age, painted by itself, is so much worse in the period of the Renaissance than in the Roman Empire. The Latin writers belonged to that class in which survived whatever good there was. They were patriots, Stoics, men of austere morality, in whom still lived something of that spirit which sacrificed everything for the common good. In this age of the decay of paganism men still admired virtue, and placed before themselves a high standard of purity and integrity. In the last days of the mediæval Church, on the other hand, virtue itself was no longer praised—the very name had lost its signification: the standard of conduct was vice. There was no Persius or Juvenal to hold the age up to scorn; there was no Tacitus to depict with loathing the crimes of princes; there was no Lucan to sing of heroic deeds; among the soldiers of Italy there was no Agricola, among her philosophers no Seneca, among her sovereigns no Trajan or Marcus Aurelius. The foulest writers of Greece and Rome would have found congenial companions among the most eminent churchmen and most distinguished humanists of the Italian Renaissance.

The causes of this ineffable depravity are to be found partly in the political demoralization of mediæval Italy, partly in the condition of the Church at this epoch. The former topic is largely illustrated throughout the volume; the latter forms the subject of a special chapter—"The Church and Morality." A rapid examination of the earlier history of Italy shows why it was that no union of the peninsula was possible during the Middle Ages; and why, therefore, at the threshold of modern history, it fell a prey to foreign invaders. The selfish "particularism" of the Italian states goes a great way to explain the universal bad faith, unscrupulousness, and want of genuine patriotism of the public men of this period; their incredible inhumanity was a natural enough outgrowth of their selfish isolation; and when men are perfidious and cruel, licentiousness is not far distant. The moral sense

has already been destroyed. But even this sequence and development of vice seem inadequate to explain corruption such as existed at this period. Mr. Symonds proceeds boldly—but after all treading in the footsteps of Machiavelli and Guicciardini—to lay it to the charge of the corrupt and worldly Church. It was not merely that the ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages proved ineffective to prevent immorality; it was not merely the example of popes like John XXIII. and Alexander VI.; it was the false standard of conduct sedulously inculcated and made into a rule of practice—a rule which burned Huss and Savonarola and made Caesar Borgia a cardinal. The causes of “the inherent feebleness of Italy” in respect to spirituality and morality are summed up in vol. i., page 455, as “an intellectual apathy toward religious questions, produced partly by the stigma attaching to unorthodoxy; partly by the absorbing interests of secular culture; partly by the worldliness of the Renaissance; partly by the infamy of the ecclesiastics; and partly by the enervating influence of tyrannies.” All of these receive ample illustration in these volumes.

Of course a condition of society like this could not endure. It would have speedily conducted mankind into a universal barbarism far worse and more hopeless than that out of which it had emerged generations before. Immorality is compatible with a high state of civilization, but not with the continuance of a high state of civilization. The terrible sack of Rome by the mercenaries of Charles V. was the crisis in the moral history of Italy. “From the shame and torment of that sack she [Rome] never recovered, never became again the gay, licentious, lovely capital of arts and letters; the glittering, gilded Rome of Leo” (p. 445). But “the Papal state had learned by its misfortunes the necessity of a reform. . . . No force of arms could prevent the Holy City from returning to a better life, and proving that the Christian priesthood was not a mere mockery and sham. In truth, the counter-Reformation may be said to date historically from 1527.”

Part I, “The Age of the Despots,” is the volume which possesses most interest for the general reader; the second part, upon the “Revival of Letters,” will be very acceptable to those who wish to obtain a clear and connected idea of this great era of scholarship, and to have the names of the leading humanists something more than names to them. The humanistic movement, our author thinks, may be said to have passed through four distinct phases or periods. The first, that of Petrarch, was “the age of inspiration and discovery.” The second, associated with Poggio Fiorentino, was “the age of arrangement and translation.” The third is “the age of academies”—“whereof the Platonic Academy at Florence, that of Pontanus at Naples, that of Pomponius Lætus in Rome, and that of Aldus Manutius at Venice, are the most important. . . . At the same time, Italian erudition reaches its maximum in Poliziano.” The fourth is “the age of the purists, over whom Bembo exercises the sway of a dictator.” This is in reality a period of decay. This volume, besides an elaborate sketch of each of these periods, has a chapter upon “Latin Poetry” and a concluding chapter.

We do not understand the definition of *municipality*, given part 1, p. 195: “To begin with, the Italian republics were municipalities. That is, like the Greek states, they consisted of a small body of burghers who alone had the privileges of government, together with a larger population who, although they paid taxes and shared the commercial and social advantages of the city, had no voice in its administration.” This defines correctly the citizenship both of the Greek cities and the Italian republics; but neither the

Greek cities nor the Italian republics were true municipalities. The Greek cities were sovereignties in the fullest sense of the word, and the Italian republics were sovereignties to all intents and purposes, even though some of them might owe a nominal allegiance to some lord, and all of them, except Venice, were in theory subject to the Emperor. But the very essence of a municipality is that it is not sovereign—that it forms part of a larger organism in which sovereignty resides; the municipality exercises only delegated authority over purely local concerns. There is a slight inconsistency in speaking of Isabella, wife of Gian Galeazzo Sforza: page 543 she is correctly spoken of as daughter of Alfonso II., of Naples, but page 555 she is called his sister.

THE PAINTER COPLEY.

The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, R. A. With notices of his works, and Reminiscences of his son, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. By his granddaughter, Martha Babcock Amory. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1882. Pp. 478.

THIS labor of love on the part of the late Mrs. Charles Amory will doubtless meet the fate of the thousands of other useless biographies. The materials so carefully collected and copied seem of priceless value to the editor, but they are hastily glanced over by the unsympathetic reader in quest of new facts or equally desirable amusement. The volume is composed mainly of family letters, of interest only to the recipients at the time, and of no value to any one at the present day. At best it may be said that they prove a lively attachment between the members of the Copley family, and give a touch of human warmth to our impressions of the learned, stately, and elegant Lord Chancellor.

John Singleton Copley, born in Boston in 1737, of parents who had but lately immigrated, will long be remembered as the great portrait-painter of New England prior to the Revolution. As the artist who perpetuated the faces of the most distinguished gentlemen and ladies of the local aristocracy, he occupies a place analogous to that of Lely and Van Dyke in England. In England, however, where he passed the latter half of his life, he is known as an artist of a certain rank, but more especially as the father of Lord Lyndhurst. The names of the father and son are thus closely united, somewhat as those of the elder Disraeli and Lord Beaconsfield will hereafter be. It is with regret that we add that this book gives us no new information of value in regard to the artist. A few references to well-known pictures painted by Copley are no great contribution to history. We had hoped at least for an attempt at a list of Copley's English paintings, somewhat on the plan of the American catalogue published by Mr. A. T. Perkins, of Boston, in 1873. As none is given, we may briefly recapitulate the leading points of Copley's history, correcting some errors of his biographer.

According to Mrs. Amory, the artist's father, Richard Copley, married Mary Singleton, sister of John Singleton, of Quinville Abbey, County Clare, Ireland, and the Copleys were a Yorkshire family long settled in County Limerick. It is added that Richard Copley and his wife went to Boston in 1736, and the former died in the West Indies about the time that his son was born—in 1737. Cunningham, in his ‘Life of Copley,’ says the artist was born, “by the most credible accounts, at Boston July 3, 1737.” From the utter silence of the Boston records it seems most probable that the father did not remain there long, and that Mrs. Copley was soon left a widow. In 1747 the widow Copley married

Peter Pelham, an English artist, who had been for some twenty years struggling with untoward fate in uncongenial Boston. “Though engaged in trade, like almost all the inhabitants of the North American colonies at that time, his stepfather had some knowledge of art, as many drawings and engravings of tolerable execution by his hand still remain,” says this memoir. The newspapers of the date contain a much clearer statement in the month following her marriage. “Mrs. Mary Pelham (formerly the widow Copley on Long Wharf, tobaccoist) is removed to Lindel's Row, against the Quaker Meeting House, near the upper end of King Street, Boston, where she continues to sell the best Virginia Tobacco, Cut, Pigtail, and Spun, of all sorts, by Wholesale and Retail, at the cheapest rates.” This we print as a sure indication that Mary Singleton, when first left a widow, possessed the energy to maintain herself, and that after her second marriage to a widower with at least three children, she lacked neither ability nor wish to contribute to the support of the new establishment. She lived to a good old age, and the following brief letter, dated Boston, February 6, 1788, is worth copying: “Your fame, my dear son, is sounded by all who are lovers of the art you bid fair to excel in. May God prosper and cause you to succeed in all your undertakings, and enroll your name among the first in your profession.” It is not unreasonable to presume that it was from her that Copley and Lyndhurst inherited not only longevity, but those qualities of mind which raised them above their fellows.

According to previous accounts, Copley is here represented as a self-instructed artist, whose excellence was intuitive and wonderful. But an examination of the facts must correct the error. Peter Pelham, his stepfather, was an artist of no small ability. John Chalonier Smith's recent ‘Catalogue of British Engravers’ shows that Pelham executed some thirty-six mezzotint engravings, more than twenty being published in England before he came hither. These portraits certainly place him in a very good rank among engravers, and would to-day be readily purchased on their merits. Coming to New England about 1726, he must soon have found that there was no large demand for his skill. He taught a school for the education of children in “Reading, Writing, Needlework, Dancing, and the art of Painting upon Glass”; he engraved portraits of a few of the clergymen, and in fact did what he best could to earn an honorable living. After his second marriage he continued his “Writing and Arithmetick School.” We will add briefly that success rewarded him; that his oldest son, Charles Pelham, was an honored citizen of Newton, and married a niece of Sir William Pepperell; and that the late distinguished lawyer, Charles P. Curtis, was his grandson. A second son, Peter Pelham, jr., went to Virginia, and was the ancestor of many noted bearers of the name in the South.

It is beyond dispute that Peter Pelham was also an artist with the brush. His engravings testify to this; and one or two specimens remain of the portraits which he painted as preliminary to his use of the graver. Though rather sketchy, they prove his ability to teach all that the master can impart to the readiest pupil. Moreover, in 1753, Copley painted and engraved a portrait of Rev. William Welsted, of Boston, so evidently in Pelham's style as to render it certain whence he had obtained his instruction. Copley's earliest known picture is a portrait of his stepfather, Pelham; another early production is the portrait of his stepbrother, Charles Pelham; and his first step toward fame was the sending to England that portrait of his half-brother, Henry Pelham,

known as "The Boy with the Squirrel." Again, the well-known artist, John Smibert, lived until 1752 in Boston, and his inventory embraced "thirty-five portraits, forty-one History pieces and pictures in that taste, thirteen Landscips, two conversation pictures, bustoes and figures in Paris plaister and models, prints and books of prints, and drawings." Smibert's son, Nathaniel, pursued his father's art till his death in 1756. John Greenwood (born in 1737) was at this time painting; Richard Jennys, jr., and Nathaniel Hurd, engraving. In fact, the young Copley was reared in the midst of surroundings which impelled him to art; and an examination of his pictures compels us to believe that he was less an artist from overwhelming impulse than from circumstances. In 1767 Copley himself wrote, "I am now in as good business as the poverty of this place will admit. I make as much money as if I were a Raphael or a Correggio; and three hundred guineas a year, my present income, is equal to nine hundred a year in London."

The valuable catalogue of the American portraits painted by Copley, prepared by Mr. A. T. Perkins,* contains notes of some three hundred, executed before the artist left this country. These pictures are of the highest interest historically, and of very high rank artistically. But after Copley had visited Italy in 1774, and taken up his residence in London under the influence of West, he added to his profession of portrait painter that of historical painter. Vast pictures of Scriptural subjects were to the taste of the King, and consequently of the wealthy collectors. Equally large canvases were given to famous events, as the "Death of Chatham," the "Death of Major Peirson," the "Arrest of the Five Members," etc. But many of these pictures remained unsold, and the artist was evidently less prosperous than he would have been had he been less ambitious. From this memoir we learn that the main support of the family during the closing years of the artist was furnished by his learned and devoted son.

The few letters of Copley's herein given are unimportant, and in fact the reader will gain a much better idea of him from Cunningham's well-known "Life," brief as it is. So in regard to Lord Lyndhurst: the letters here copied, especially those narrating his visit to America in 1795, are pleasant to read, but they contain nothing of importance. They will be duly prized by his relatives, but the public will not find any cause for wonder that the Lord Chancellor was not deficient in politeness or affection to his nephews and nieces. It is, indeed, rather strange that none of the Boston literati have essayed a suitable memoir of Lyndhurst, certainly one of the most distinguished of all the sons of that godly city. The subject is a tempting one, for he was eloquent, witty, learned, and successful. English writers protest against Lord Campbell's description of him, but the great party which he served has no longer, apparently, any interest in its past history.

We can only say in conclusion that the article, also by Mrs. Amory, which was printed in *Scribner's Magazine* for March, 1881, contains the essence of this volume. The book will be read by Bostonians, and will perhaps in an abridged form contribute to the reputation of the writer. It is an ungracious task to review a posthumous work, but in this case we presume that nothing more has been printed than the author intended, and its diffuseness is the chief weakness of the book.

On a Raft, and Through the Desert. By Tristram J. Ellis. 2 vols. London: Field & Tuer. Pp. 122, 128. Small 4to, illustrated. 1881.

This work, apart from the artistic merit of its

numerous etchings, is chiefly interesting for its graphic descriptions of scenes witnessed in the author's search after subjects for an exhibition of paintings. It has the additional value of being the testimony of an eye-witness to the utter misery entailed by Turkish rulers, and the gradual but certain destruction which they are bringing upon their subject peoples. In this respect it should be read in connection with Mr. Tozer's account of his journey through Turkish Armenia, published last year. Both tell the same story of corrupt and inefficient government, of a wasted and despairing people, of famines frequently recurring and inevitable. In all parts of the Turkish Empire traversed by these gentlemen there were but two or three places which showed any signs of prosperity. In one of these, at least, Deir on the Euphrates, the cause was to be found simply in the fact that the Governor, Ali Pasha, was an "honest official." Nearly everywhere, however, both the population and the flocks and herds were decreasing at an alarming rate. Aleppo, for instance, contained more than 300,000 inhabitants fifty years ago; "now there are less than 100,000"; while in the winter of 1879-80 "as many as 240,000 sheep" perished under its walls. This winter was exceptionally severe in the East, and Mr. Ellis, on touching at Sidon, "found the picturesque little town in a great state of agitation. Three inches of snow had fallen—a thing never known or even heard of before. The people were alarmed lest its weight lying on the flat roofs of the houses should break them in. Many were the consultations they held with Mr. Eddy, the American missionary, who had kindly received me as guest, as to what ought to be done. They had such an exaggerated notion of its weight, that they were afraid of sweeping it into the street, lest in falling it should kill the passengers. . . . On account of the unaccustomed cold the people made a change in their clothing, and, as they were quite unused to snow, this took rather a surprising form: they put an extra handkerchief on their heads, and, taking their shoes off for fear they should be spoiled, walked about barefooted."

Our author's route was by steamer from Beirut to Iskanderoon, "the most unhealthy spot in Syria, or perhaps in the world." Though he only spent one night there, it was long enough for him to have an attack of fever. From thence he went by Antioch and Aleppo to Diarbekir on the Tigris, the true starting-point of his adventurous journey. Just before they reached the city, he says: "We presently met a long line of shivering people that we learnt had been turned out of Diarbekir for fear of pestilence breaking out there. They were slowly making their way westwards, where they had heard there was plenty to eat." Apparently, the only method of descending the Tigris is by rafts, which are constructed in the following manner:

"A number of long, straight boughs of the poplar are lashed together with rope made of bark and fine osier-twigs, so as to form a grill with bars eight inches apart, of the full size of the raft. A few inflated skins are fastened to this, and it is floated out into the shallowest and stillest water available. The rest of the skins are pushed underneath the grill, and tied to it in rows, touching each other, so that the skins completely hide the water. . . . After the inflated skins have been fastened to the grill, the principal framework made from the trunks of poplar-trees is laid over it and firmly tied. Over the whole a flooring of osier-sticks is laid, and upon this the merchandise, or in my case a hut, is placed. As my raft consisted of only 120 skins, and measured about 12 feet by 9 feet, my hut had to be very limited in dimensions. It measured 6 feet by 7 feet 6 inches, and 5 feet 6 inches high. It had a floor of wood. The framework was made of stout branches of trees, and the covering of thick Kurdish felt, quite impervious to the weather. The layer of osier-branches

on the raft is very difficult to walk on, as, unless one is very careful, a foot will slip through on to the skins. These give way on each side, and one's leg is in the water in a second. The skins immediately close round the ankle, and it requires the assistance of others to haul one's foot out."

It was with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Ellis could find two raftsmen who were willing to take him to Mosul, as the banks of the river between Diarbekir and this place were lined with a starving people, who stopped every raft in the hope of getting food. The deplorable condition of Mosul, however, had aroused the Government to decided action, and navigation was opened by the aid of soldiers and a mountain battery. Mr. Ellis's raft, containing six persons, was the first to descend the river after the blockade. The voyage was without incident, though there were numerous alarms of robbers. At one point "the scenery became very grand. The precipices grew bolder and higher, with lofty snow-covered mountains in the background. The windings of the river were so sharp that every now and then we seemed rushing headlong into a wall of rock. When within a few feet of it the banks suddenly opened to right or left, and we rushed down that gorge only to see another precipice just before us a few hundred yards off. It required all the skill of the raftsmen to prevent the keel from striking any of the sunken rocks, and, in spite of all precaution, half a dozen skins were broken during the day, each going off with a sudden and discomfiting pop." On his reaching Mosul he found the famine still raging with fearful intensity. "My servant sought in vain for edible bread. He brought in a specimen of the only stuff he could find; it was a cake five inches across and a quarter of an inch thick, made of fine chopped straw, with just enough flour to paste the bits together, and the price demanded was twopence." A few days later none even of this could be had at any price. Though trade generally was at a standstill, the armorers were very busy, as "every one was arming himself against the expected rising" of the poor. In the neighborhood of the bazaars the wretched people were gathered in great numbers.

"Many had sold all their clothes, and were lying, covered with sores and swarming with flies, on the ground, naked except for a dirty rag. They were fearfully emaciated, all their ribs and the articulations of the joints showing with the utmost distinctness. It seemed impossible that such people could live, and on noticing a crowd that had formed round a young man, who had been lying on his face without even a single rag, I went up to see what was the matter. I arrived just in time to see him turned over. He was quite dead. This happened close to a small stall for the sale of cooked gaubs, yet not a morsel had been given him, so selfish did want make even the usually charitable Arabs."

But for the daily distribution of soup at the English Consulate, chiefly through Lady Strangford's agency, many more would have perished.

At Bagdad Mr. Ellis found himself in the midst of entirely different scenes. He was invited to a feast celebrating the marriage of the principal consular dragoman, who was also one of the richest Christians in the city.

"I was surprised that none of the ladies present had dark complexions, being as fair as southern Europeans. Their out-door dress entirely protects them from the sun, and they seem to have none of that dark blood which is prevalent in India. The hair was black, with hardly any exception: the eyebrows and eyes were also dark, but the skin was frequently of an ivory whiteness, sometimes assisted by cosmetics—in fact, there was not a lady there who did not paint her eyes and eyebrows, and there were very few who did not also color their lips and cheeks. The eyes are painted in a way much in advance of ours in Europe. Besides the usual dark line under the lower eyelashes,

* Reviewed in the Nation, No. 426, Nov. 6, 1873.

the full thickness of the lower eyelid is stained or painted a deep brown or black, and frequently the upper eyelid is slightly darkened all over, graduated toward the edge. The effect is splendid at a distance, and after a time one gets so much used to seeing it, one scarcely notices the means by which the effect has been obtained.

My partner had two large cascades of jewels with pendants hanging down in front from each shoulder, besides half a dozen necklaces, enormous ear-rings, strings of coins in the hair, numerous bracelets and bangles, and rings covering all her fingers up to the first joint. Most of the other ladies were as profusely bedecked. The hair was carefully parted in the middle, and frequently cut in a crop over the forehead, the rest generally hanging down the back in plaits from one to twenty in number, each with a little gold or silver knob at the end."

The most direct way from Bagdad to Damascus, 450 miles distant, is by the desert, which is traversed by the post in ten or twelve days every fortnight. "The carriers are always Bedaween, and [during a service of forty years] scarcely a single instance is known of the letters failing to arrive at the other end." It should be said that all money and valuables are rigidly excluded. To the usual difficulties, however, arising from the scarcity of food and water for the camels, was added at this time the presence of large bands of hostile Bedaween. The alternative routes, however, were so fatiguing, and required so much time, that Mr. Ellis determined to brave the dangers of the desert. We have no space left to follow him in his wanderings by day and night as he successfully strove to elude the Anezeih, the especial friends of Lady Anne Blunt. Damascus was reached on the twenty-second day after leaving Bagdad, the 450 miles having become 750. Of Mr. Ellis's etchings we can only speak in terms of very high praise. The sketch-map accompanying these volumes, though drawn with sufficient accuracy, is disfigured by numerous (we have counted eight) gross typographical blunders. In every other respect the work is an unusually fine specimen of the book-maker's art.

John Quincy Adams. By John T. Morse, Jr. [American Statesmen.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1882.

No better choice could have been made for a beginning of the important series to be edited by Mr. Morse than the life of John Quincy Adams. Not only did Mr. Adams's great age, the extraordinary precocity and the no less extraordinary persistence of his public career, serve to connect the first days of the republic with the middle and later periods; not only was he Ambassador, Secretary of State, President, and (proudest of all) Representative in Congress; not only did his independence reject the badge of party; but, thanks to his invaluable diary, in the case of no other American statesman is the record so complete, the "human document" so ready to be summed up. Judgments will of course differ as to the greatness or wisdom of Adams, but they need neither await nor expect any further materials. That Mr. Morse's conclusions will in the main be those of posterity, we have very little doubt, and he has set an admirable example to his coadjutors in respect of interesting narrative, just proportion, and judicial candor.

If entire patriotism, incorruptibility, political fairness, prescience, initiative, and high physical and moral courage are the marks of statesmanship, it would be difficult to point to any of his contemporaries or successors who possessed them in an equal degree with Mr. Adams. Forty-eight hours after he had taken his seat in the Massachusetts Senate, as one of the Federalist majority in 1802, the first act of his legislative life was to propose that the Republican minority should enjoy a proportional representation in

the Council (the Governor's body of advisors). Yet he had just been spitefully removed by President Jefferson from the position of Commissioner in Bankruptcy. As President he determined (and with Mr. Adams to determine was to act) to renominate every Federal officeholder "against whom there was no complaint which would have warranted his removal." Though desirous of a reelection, he refused to heed those who exhorted him to make a clean sweep of his political opponents and fill their places with his friends. "An invidious and inquisitorial scrutiny into the personal disposition of public officers will creep through the whole Union, and the most selfish and sordid passions will be kindled into activity to distort the conduct and misrepresent the feelings of men whose places may become the prize of slander upon them." He rated liberty above the Union, and foresaw the dissolution which actually occurred. He menaced slavery with the "war power" long before civil war was imminent. He was almost the sole champion of free speech and the right of petition on the floor of Congress, for more than half a generation, maintaining a veritable state of siege against all the onslaughts of the slave power, until reinforcements could arrive and the defence be committed to younger though not more ardent or able combatants.

Mr. Adams entered the House of Representatives in the same year with the founding of the *Liberator*. The final campaign against slavery was thus simultaneously begun within and without Congress, yet neither ally quite recognized the other. In December, Mr. Adams presented fifteen petitions from Pennsylvania Quakers, asking for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. He expressed his opinion that the suppression of the slave trade might be a proper subject of legislation, but astonished the Abolitionists by giving notice that he hoped the other subject would not be discussed in the House, and that it would not receive his countenance. This seemed to the editor of the *Liberator* "a trimming policy—an attempt to court Southern popularity," the trifling of a "Northern doughface." Later on, this misunderstanding disappeared, but Mr. Adams always felt uncomfortable under the pressure of the Abolitionists. They were constantly urging him "to indiscreet movements" which would be his "irredeemable ruin in this world." Between them and the "adverse impulses" of his family his mind was "agitated almost to distraction," and he felt himself walking upon the edge of a precipice in every step that he took. Throughout his diary one remarks Mr. Adams's dread of "ruin," which seems paradoxical even when explained to mean a fear of losing the estimation of the public. His Congressional career, with vigilant hostility for his normal condition, as Mr. Morse happily phrases it, has the appearance of the most absolute indifference to public opinion or to future political preferment. Yet he was never as reckless as his enemies thought him, and, while never abating his abhorrence of slavery and contempt of slaveholders, weighed carefully every step, whether personal or official, as if it involved a calamity which we can even now hardly define.

The fact is that this eminent man, who had "a strong natural propensity to give offence and make enemies," who was "an adept in alienation—a novice in conciliation," and was doomed by nature to an austere isolation from his fellows, had an inextinguishable craving for their approval. When they gave him the Presidency, he felt it was only his desert, but he did not cease to exact of them a continuance of their approbation—not in the vulgar form of office, for nothing higher remained, and he cared nothing for the mode or measure of their good

opinion. He did extort the respect even of his bitterest foes, but it brought him small comfort, for what he wanted was sympathy. The Abolitionists offered him this as they were able, but he could not reciprocate it. Their allegiance to duty was not more high or more single than his, but they voluntarily accepted the slight and hatred of their countrymen. He watched their progress like a prophet who "sees what he fore-saw," but he had no desire to share their odium, or to descend with them into the fiery furnace. He congratulates himself (April 19, 1837—the date is significant) on having escaped it in the late session of Congress, and writes: "It behooves me well to consider my ways before I put myself in the way of being cast into it again. On the other hand," responds his Puritan conscience, "may God preserve me from the craven spirit of shrinking from dangers in the discharge of my duty!"

A Monograph of the Pribylov Group; or, The Seal Islands of Alaska. By Henry W. Elliott. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1881. Pp. 171. With 29 plates, 2 maps, and 12 sketch maps.

THIS is the second of the series of monographs published, or to be published, by the Census Bureau. Mr. Elliott, as a special agent of the Treasury Department, spent more than two years upon the Seal Islands, in 1872-3-4. He tells us that in former times the range of the fur-seal was very greatly extended. It was found in great numbers at many localities in the Antarctic, South Atlantic, and South Pacific oceans; but, being unprotected, it became the prey of the sealing fleets of all nations. As the result of the indiscriminate slaughter which ensued immediately upon their discovery, they were almost exterminated in the Southern hemisphere, and to-day, of the vast rookeries which once existed, there remains only a small one at Cape Corrientes, owned and protected by the Argentine Republic, and a few individuals scattered about along the coast, or upon rocky, uninhabited islets. The fur-seal in the North Pacific, on the other hand, has been found in large numbers in only two localities, the Pribylov and the Commander Islands. The latter are of much less importance than the former, the number of fur-seal taken there annually being less than one-half that taken on the Pribylov Islands, while they are probably worked much more nearly up to their maximum capacity.

The Pribylov islands (St. Paul and St. George) are mere islets in the heart of Behring Sea. For six months of the year they are surrounded by ice, and during the other six months are enveloped in dense fog. They are the breeding-grounds of hosts of seals, which congregate here in dense bodies along the shore, landing in June and remaining until August and September. Their total number upon the two islands is estimated by Mr. Elliott at 4,700,000. The first to arrive upon the islands are the mature males, who at once take up their positions upon the shore, to receive the females as they come. The seals are polygamous, each male having as large a harem as he can obtain by fair or foul means. The natural result is that the younger and weaker males are forced to remain bachelors, and, through fear of the older ones, keep aloof from the rookeries, and are found in droves or herds of thousands scattered along the shore. The adult male seal measures six and a half to seven and a quarter feet in extreme length, and, when in good flesh, weighs 400 to 600 pounds. The female is very much smaller, measuring only four to four and a half feet, and weighing only about one-sixth as much. The pups, when first born, weigh only three to four pounds, and measure twelve to fourteen inches in length.

The Alaska Commercial Company has, by lease, the monopoly of this amphibious stock-yard, under certain restrictions, the principal of which are that no female or pup seals shall be killed, except for food, and that the killing shall be restricted to 100,000 of the young males, or "bachelor seals," annually upon the two islands. These conditions are obviously to the advantage of the company; but Mr. Elliott makes a suspiciously labored argument to prove that the contract has been fulfilled in this respect, and almost casts doubt on his own estimate of the total number of seals on the islands by attempting to show that an annual product of 100,000 skins can be maintained without injury to the stock. That self-interest is not a guarantee against killing the goose that lays the golden egg, our lumber devastation abundantly demonstrates. The killing of the seals is done in June and July, for later than the latter month the skins are not in prime condition. It is conducted in this wise: A body of "bachelors" is surrounded by a dozen natives, who cut off their retreat to the sea, and then gently drive them inland to the killing ground, which is convenient to the village. Arrived there, the seals are killed by blows from clubs, with which their skulls are crushed. The skins are at once taken off and prepared for shipment.

Besides the fur seal, Mr. Elliot treats of the sea-lion and the walrus, and briefly of the feathered tribes which inhabit these islands in the summer. The volume is fully illustrated by maps and sketches made by the author. Of the latter, it is fair to say that while the figures of animals are admirably drawn, the artist has only a shadowy idea of perspective.

Anecdota Oxoniensia. Aryan Series, Vol. I., Part 1. Buddhist Texts from Japan, edited by F. Max Müller, M. A.

By this little publication, the Oxford University has initiated an enterprise of which the plan is wholly praiseworthy, and which may well enough grow into something really important. The intention is, as the prospectus informs us, "to publish materials, chiefly inedited, taken directly from MSS.," especially from those contained in the Oxford libraries; and there are to be four series, namely: Classical, Semitic, Aryan, and Mediæval-Modern. Taking advantage of the extraordinary vogue attaching to anything that bears the name of Prof. Müller, the University issues first a little Sanskrit text, of less than thirty pages (there is added a preface of eighteen pages), containing the *Vajracchedikā*, or 'Diamond-Cutter,' a Buddhist philosophical treatise of the *Mahāyāna* or Great Vehicle (we might fairly render it "high-faluting") school. The edition is founded on manuscripts or block-books recently brought to light from three of the countries to which Buddhism long ago spread out of Northern India; that is to say, from China, Japan, and Tibet. Filled as these countries are with Buddhist monasteries, and priests, and nominal adherents, and abounding in voluminous translations of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature, little understood and well-nigh unintelligible (for neither country has had the independence and mental force to produce a literature of its own, or to add anything but a chapter of decay to the history of this religion), it has long been surmised that there must be Sanskrit originals in some form still preserved there. Prior, however, to the recent complete opening of Japan, nothing came, or could be expected to come, from any attempt at discovery in that country; and China had proved equally barren.

Now the aspect of affairs is quite changed; and Müller finds reason to make profuse acknowledgment of the good offices of certain young Japanese, Buddhist priests, who had come to England to study the ancient languages of India, the dialects of their own sacred books, and who have helped to procure him knowledge or copies of such material as is still accessible among the Buddhists of Japan. And, as it never rains but it pours, sundry Sanskrit texts from China were found already within reach, in England, in the hands of returned missionaries; and others, it may be added, are known to exist in this country. Such discoveries, until the present stage of study of the Buddhist literature, would have been of little account; now, they are comparatively timely; for it is a matter of some degree of interest to see how the originals preserved in the furthest East compare in text with the same documents as found nearer home. But that is all, or nearly all. That we should gain by their aid any deeper insight into the origin and early history of this system of belief is not in the very least to be expected. In fact, largely for personal reasons easy to understand, the value of these discoveries has been vastly overrated. First communicated by Prof. Müller to the Asiatic Society, with an emphasis heightened by his non-attendance for many years, the story was told again at the last autumn's International Oriental Congress in Berlin, and its author, supported by his Japanese neophytes, laid the present little work on the table as his contribution to the interest of the occasion. And once more, on the way home to England, the same *cortège* exhibited itself for a like purpose before the Institute of France.

Seldom has so much *renommée* been won at so small an expense. One cannot but contrast it with a case or two of another character. By exceptional acuteness and energy, Prof. Roth, of Tübingen, caused the bringing to light in Cashmere, some years ago, of the new text of the Atharva-Veda. It is the most important find made for a generation, in Hindu literature, of which the credit is due so exclusively to an individual, and all specialists know it as such; but the great public has never been asked to look on and applaud. Of kindred merit was Burnell's discovery of a new and voluminous text belonging to the second, or Brāhmanic, period in the religious history of India; but of that, too, the knowledge is limited to those whom it really concerns, and who are capable of estimating it at its true value.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott's Young Christian. A Memorial Edition, with a Sketch of the Author by one of his sons. New York: Harper & Brothers.
Auerbach, B. Spinoza: a Novel. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.
Baker, T. Ueber die Musik der Nordamerikanischen Wilden. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.
Baker, G. M. The Reading Club and Handy Speaker. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 50 cents.
Baker, G. H. The Book of the Dead. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. \$1.
Hughes, T. Tom Brown's School-Days. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 10 cents.
Madrig, J. N. M. Tullii Ciceronis De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum Libri Quinque. New York: Harper & Bros.
Metcalfe, F. Passio et Miracula Beati Osmi. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co.
Newton, W. W. The Voice of St. John; or, The Story of the First Easter Day. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.
Paine, Harriet F. Bird-Songs of New England. Boston: A. Williams & Co.
Perry, W. C. Greek and Roman Sculpture. 268 Illustrations on wood. New York: Scribner & Welford.
Pebody, C. English Journalism, and the Men who have Made It. New York: Cassell, Pether, Galpin & Co.
Poirard, Josephine. The Decorative Sisters. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. \$2.
Polly's Scheme. By Corydon. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. \$1.
Reiss, W., and Stübel, A. The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru. Part 5. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$7 50.
Scribner's Geographical Reader and Primer. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 70 cents.
Seymour, T. D. Selected Odes of Pindar, with Notes. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co.
Sime, J. Schiller. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. \$1.
Shepherd, P. First Aid to the Injured. New York: G. F. Putnam's Sons. 50 cents.
Shorthouse, J. H. John Inglesant: a Romance. New York: Macmillan & Co. \$1.
Spofford, A. R. The American Almanac for 1882. New York: American News Co.
Sublimed Southern Nobility: a Southern Ideal. New York: Sharps Publishing Co.
Three Hundred Outlines of Sermons on the New Testament. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Co. \$1 50.
Underwood, F. H. James Russell Lowell: a Biographical Sketch. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. \$1 50.
Verhandlungen des Ersten Deutschen Geographentages zu Berlin am 7. und 8. Juni 1881. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer; New York: L. W. Schmidt.
Warrington, R. The Chemistry of the Farm. New York: Orange Judd Co.
Weeden, W. B. The Social Law of Labor. Boston: Roberts Brothers. \$1 50.
Wheatley and Delamotte. Hand-books of Practical Art: Art-work in Gold and Silver-Medieval. Also, Art-work in Earthenware. New York: Scribner & Welford.
Wright, W. A. Life of King Henry the Fifth: Shakespeare's Select Plays. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co.

HENRY HOLT & Co.

HAVE READY:

Auerbach's Spinoza.

16mo (Leisure-Hour Series), \$1.

ALEXANDER BAIN'S

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JAMES MILL. 12mo, \$2.

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